

# The History of Alquerque-12

## Texts of the game

### Volume III



Govert Westerveld











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## **Texts of the game – Volume III**



**Govert Westerveld**  
**2018**



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**Q5hO3jHt7HjLKawZ - March 5, 2018 at 3:22 PM**

**The History of alquerque-12. Texts of the game - Volume III.**

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**Academia de Estudios Humanísticos de Blanca**

**(Valle de Ricote)**

**Impreso en España – Printed in Spain**

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**ISBN: (Lulu editors: 978-0-244-07274-2)**

**ISBN: (Bubok: none)**

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**Blanca (Murcia) Spain**

# **DEDICATION**

**I dedicate this work to Mr. Joaquín Salmerón, Director of the Museum Siyasa of Cieza (Murcia) in Spain.**

**Thanks to his enthusiasm and generous help I could initiate the investigation of the Alquerque-12 game in Spain.**

# FOREWORD

The reason to write three volumes about alquerque-12 was due to the fact that there are researchers who affirm that alquerque-12 was a very popular game in France. On the other hand they confirm that alquerque-12 is a draughts game played in the Roman times. In Volume I we have shown that the alquerque-12 board was not popular in France, but in Spain while in Volume II it becomes clear that the game was also very popular in Portugal and Italy.

In the case of Spain we observe that the game was played more in the northern provinces than in the southern ones, which invalidates the general opinion that the game had been brought to Spain by the Arabs.

Researchers are always referring to the fact that alquerque or Quirkat was being played throughout Egypt. In this sense we have to take into account that with regards to the alquerque games we have three man morris, six man morris, nine man morris, and twelve man morris. Each game was played in a certain period.

Most historians and archaeologists were following Murray, and stated that alquerque-12 was native to Egypt in the 14th and 13th century B.C., because boards had been found carved into the blocks of stone that form the Luxor temple's roof in Kurna,

Egypt. However, alquerque-12 has nothing to do with this period. At first Friedrich Berger states that the drawings cannot be dated due to Coptic (Christian) crosses. Secondly the German archaeologist and Egyptologist Rainer Stadelmann came to a similar conclusion with good documentary evidence. Research of the Dutchman Wim Van Mourik and Dr. Stadelmann clearly proves that the drawing by Parker was not the correct one and was completely different from the drawing shown in Stadelmann's photo. For that reason we can state today that the Kurna temple had nothing to do with alquerque-12 and draughts.

Alquerque-12 in various countries always had to do with Christians and the church. It was probably played by the church authorities, European crusaders, Knight Templars, Knights of the Order of Santiago, and other soldiers. For that reason we hypothesise that the game was an invention of or related to the activities of the Catholic Church not earlier than the sixth century.

We have to be careful in considering all alquerque-12 drawings as board games. There are many vertical drawings of alquerque-12 that have nothing to do with the board game, since they could have been used for apotropaic and esoteric practices. In this respect one can take into account the Knights Templar and their carvings at the Donjon du Coudray, Chinon (France).

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

I thank Mr. Rob Jansen (Amsterdam) for his deep research of alquerque-12 documents and images for years. Without his collaboration this book could never have been written. I also send words of thanks to Dr. Ulrich Schädler (Switzerland) who generously gave me a lot of critical notes. The fact that I did not



use them in this book has to do with adverse personal circumstances. I thank Marisa Uberti (Italy) for her comments and images. Dr. Franco Pratesi (Italy) also gave me a lot of information about Italy. The draughts icon researcher Wim van Mourik (Holland) kept me posted about his alquerque-12 researchers. Dr. Jorge Nuno Silva (Portugal) was kind to facilitate me several images of alquerque-12 boards. The anthropologist and archaeologist Luis Lobato de Faria (Portugal) has found many alquerque-12 boards and drawings and kept me posted about them. I thank him very much for his efforts to bring so many boards to light!

More people have collaborated on the preparation of this book and it is not possible to mention all of them. Thanks to all of you!

Govert Westerveld

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# 1 THE GAMES IN ANCIENT TIMES

There are several reasons why I did such a profound study of the Alquerque-12 game. The main reason is that I believe that this game was the precursor of draughts, a game invented in Valencia around 1495.

Scholars still disagree on where chess was invented. According to Pavle Bidev<sup>1</sup> and David H Li<sup>2</sup> it was China, others talk about India, and others about one of the Arab countries. The current chess game is the result of huge development of its pieces and movements. Therefore our current chess game has also very little to do with the first chess game.

The draughts game as we know it today in Spain arose from the Alquerque-12 and chess<sup>3</sup>. Most historians of draughts still do not agree on where this game originated. It appears from the Internet that people already played draughts in the Egyptian times about 4000 years ago. Others refer to the period of the Roman Empire and still others to the Middle Ages. In addition to this we have the problem that there exist many varieties of the draughts game on the chessboard, which the research does not facilitate. History is a science that requires documentary proofs. In this sense it immediately stands out that the the

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<sup>1</sup> **BIDEV, Pavle** (1987) How I reorientated by chess beliefs, Y Igalo

<sup>2</sup> **LI, David. H.** (1998) The genealogy of chess. Premier Publishing Co. (Bethesda, Md)

<sup>3</sup> See the important hypothesis of Gerard Bakker, Utrecht:

**BAKKER, IR. Gerhard** (1983) Draughts Magazine *Het Nieuwe Damspel*, Utrecht, p. 44

**BAKKER, IR. Gerhard** (1987) Draughts Magazine *Het Nieuwe Damspel*, Utrecht, pp. 42-46

**BAKKER, IR. Gerhard** (1992) Draughts Magazine *Het Nieuwe Damspel*, Utrecht, pp. 64-69

draughts game in earlier times was played on a chessboard and this is still the case in Spain and other countries. The first precursor of draughts is the game of Alquerque-12 played with the aid of lines and of which the drawing board has 12 pawns on both sides

**Hansel and Gretel's** *Little John and Little Margaret* is a well-known fairy tale of German origin recorded by the Grimm Brothers and published in 1812. Everybody knows this tale. And now I will draw your attention to some fairy tales about the Alquerque-12 and the draughts (checkers). In internet we see for example the following statement:

The game of checkers, or a game very similar to it, has been played for thousands of years. Known throughout history as "alquerque" (in ancient Egypt), "fierges" or "ferses" in France, "jeu de dames", "dames" (also in France, though later), "draughts" in England, "plaisant" in Holland (or possibly France), and finally "checkers" after it reached North America, checkers is a simple game played with flat discs on a board covered in alternating light and dark squares

Another website says the following:

### **History of Checkers**

Checkers has quite a long history with international appeal. A board that was similar to a checkers board was found during an archeological excavation in the Middle East. Surprisingly the board carbon dated back to 3000 B.C.. Unfortunately it is impossible to determine whether the rules were similar to modern day checkers, even though the numbers of pieces were different from today's game.

Next in **checkers history** we jump forward in time to 1400 B.C. At that time Alquerque or Quirkat was being played throughout Egypt. Depictions of the game were even carved into the walls of sacred temples. The size of the board was different (5x5), and the pieces moved along intersections of lines instead of diagonally from square

to square; but the game was otherwise thought to be similar to modern day checkers. The pieces of alquerque were flat and circular and were even separated into light and dark colors. In addition, the goal was similar: capture the pieces of the other player. Alquerque was even discussed by the greatest minds of the time - Plato and Homer.

Moving forward on the timeline we come to the 12th century A.D. and the birth of modern day checkers. It is thought that a Frenchman converted the rules and game pieces of ancient alquerque to an 8x8 chessboard and played with a dozen pieces on each side. And.... checkers was born. The French named this game Fierges and called the pieces ferses.

By the 15th century A.D. the name of the game had changed, but the rules remained pretty much the same. Those playing at that time called it Jeu de Dames, or Dames. When the French decided that the player must jump the opponent's pieces (if possible), they changed the name again - this time to Jeu Force.

Jeu Force then traveled across the Channel to England. There it received yet another name, Draughts. In the 18th century the board was changed again to a 10x10 structure with twenty pieces on each side and was called Plaisant. This structure probably arose from players in Holland. Only when the game crossed the Atlantic to North America did it gain the name we all know - checkers.

Who is the man who is partially responsible for these nice stories? This is nobody else than the famous board game specialist Harold James Ruthven Murray (1868 – 1955). In 1913 he published his most significant work *A History of Chess*, proposing the theory that chess originated in India. Justin du Coeur gives us a very good idea of who Murray was in the past:

Many books with this title have been written over the years, but this is the one that really counts; while the scholarship has advanced a little since Murray's day, it's still the case that everyone starts here and then moves forward. If you are to have only one book on period chess, this is the one to have. It's an enormous tome (900 pages), and the vast majority of it is devoted to the pre-1600 history of the game. Once the game stabilizes in the early modern period, Murray seems to mostly

lose interest. Murray goes into minute detail about every aspect of the game, discussing not only the rules, but also issues like the literature written in period using chess as a metaphor, three chapters on period chess problems, and of course descriptions of every known early variant of chess (of which there were many). The scholarship is impeccable; not only does the book discuss pretty much every known source in detail, it includes great swathes of medieval texts on the subject in Latin, Spanish, English, and other languages. This is *not* a book for the casual reader; it is enormous and dense. But for anyone seriously interested in the subject of period chess it is the most vital book on the subject<sup>4</sup>.

In 1952 Murray published *A History of Board Games other than Chess*, proposing the theory that Alquerque-12 originated in Egypt and the draughts game in France. Since his famous book about the history of chess in 1913 everybody believed what the great board specialist Murray was saying, because he was and continued being one of the greatest board game specialists. Many historians think that Murray is infallible, but this idea will only paralyze future work of others.

Murray dominated English, German, Latin, Norman-French, and it was wonderful to see that he at a later age also learned Arabic in order to discuss the Arabic chess manuscripts. However, he did not know the Spanish language like many others and so he was not aware of the important chess and draughts history of Spain. He knew a lot of the history of draughts from William Shelley Branch (1854 – 1933) without mentioning him. Murray copied historical pages from other historians without mentioning them on several occasions. A really strange matter, because sooner or later everybody would know that.

---

<sup>4</sup> Justin du Coeur.



**Ir. Gerard Bakker**



**Rob Jansen**

## **1.1 The world on its head**

**The draughts historian Dr. Arie van der Stoep turned the world on its head in 2006.**

Considering that on a backgammon board of King Alfonso X of Castile fifteen games could be played, it is also reasonable to conclude that on the board to be used for Alquerque-12 different games could have been played that had nothing to do with Alquerque-12.

### **Dr. Arie van der Stoep's arguments**

This draughts historian turned the world on its head in 2006 when he confirmed<sup>5</sup> that *Draughts* already existed more than 4000 years B.C.

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<sup>5</sup> **STOEP, Arie van der** (2006) Vierduizend jaar dammen. In: Het Damspel, issue 5, pp. 16-17

In this sense we have to understand that Dr. Van der Stoep considers that Alquerque-12 is the same as draughts, something that I do not understand. On the other hand, Van der Stoep introduced a rule that board game historians never applied before linguistics. The use of linguistic methods did not only lead to many different views on the history of checkers or draughts, but according to Van der Stoep also cast doubts on the common view of the board games of alquerque and chess. Van der Stoep describes the history of draughts as follows:

A primitive board game with the leap capture existed already forty centuries ago. People in Africa moved stones or shells on lines drawn in the sand. Just like we do, they took a piece by leaping over it. This game was not yet draughts, for the pieces moved in any direction and the game did not include promotion.

Although this historian does not provide proofs, he furthermore stated:

Draughts was born between 2000 and 1500 BC when an African devised the promotion. From this moment on moving and taking backwards was only permitted with a piece which had penetrated the opponent's base row. The new game was played on a latticed board with 25 points, the two players each started with 12 pieces.

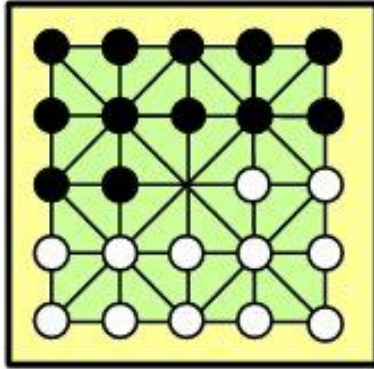
Some historians showed an Alquerque-12 board and state that:

the board was incised into the roofing slabs of the temple of Luxor, built on the western side of the Nile about 1500 BC<sup>6</sup>.

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<http://www.draughtshistory.nl/origin22.htm>

<sup>6</sup> **GRUNFELD, Frederic V.** (1982). Games of the World: how to make them, how to play them, how they came to be, p. 38. Everybody is copying everybody else.



The Alquerque-12 board

### 1.1.1 Alquerque-12 and Egypt

I never have believed in Murray's hypothesis that draughts was played in Egypt. The only known games that probably were played in this country were *Senet*, *Han*, and *Tau*. I also did not believe in the fact that the Greeks had played *Draughts*<sup>7</sup>.

### 1.1.2 Alquerque-12 and the Greek Empire

The game *Diagrammismos* (*Grammai*) was the Roman game *Duodecim Scripta* and the Greek game *Petteia* was the Roman game *Ludus Latrunculorum*. However, Van der Stoep was of another opinion:

Just like in our days a civilisation produced goods other people needed. So traders travelled to other parts of the world, with their board games. According to the philosopher Plato the Greeks

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<sup>7</sup> WESTERVELD, Govert (2004) La reina Isabel la Católica, su reflejo en la dama poderosa de Valencia, cuna de ajedrez moderno y origen del juego de damas. En colaboración con José Antonio Garzón Roger, Valencia. Generalidad Valenciana, Secretaria Autonómica de Cultura. PP 1-2



borrowed their board games from Egypt. Among these games was draughts. It is unknown in which age draughts reached Athens, but the Greeks played the game in the 5th c. BC, under the name *Five lines game*. The name is obvious: count the lines of the board above. Draughts was so common and so popular, that the game passed into proverbs. If someone had to abandon a favourable position, the Greek said: “He must give up the holy line”. This holy line was the horizontal centre line of the draughts board. Obviously a singleton on this line could not be taken, may be only by a king of by an attack of two enemy singletons simultaneously.

### 1.1.3 Alquerque-12 and the Roman Empire

As for the Roman games, I had the same opinion with regards to the Egyptian and Greek games. *Draughts* was not played in the Roman times.



Probably the Ludus Latrunculorum<sup>8</sup>. This game has nothing to do with draughts. (Museum in Zürich).

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<sup>8</sup> GALERIE NEFER (1991) Issue 9, No. 33, p. 26. The gallery dated it to 3<sup>rd</sup>/4<sup>th</sup> century AD. (With thanks to Dr. Ulrich Schädler). (Galerie Nefer owned by Frida Tchacos-Nussberger, is situated in the Glockengasse 18, Zurich).

There were only four known Roman board games: *Alea*, *Ludus duodecim scripta*, *Ludus Latrunculorum*, and a game that the poet Ovidius described without saying its name, but that obviously alluded to *alquerque 3 (three in a row)*. Taking into account other games such as *Erêser* or *Tampullen* (Alquerque-12) played by the Batak population, I believed in development from *Ludus Latrunculorum* to *Alquerque-12* board. Since I could not date the *Erêser* or *Tampullen*, I consequently could not prove that the Alquerque-12 was played in Roman times<sup>9</sup>. Van der Stoep saw things differently and considered that Roman people also played draughts, and he referred to the classic draughts board, in this case again to the Alquerque-12 board. He thought that the Alquerque-12 game in the Roman Empire had a short King<sup>10</sup>. However, I do not find the Alquerque-12 game as a draughts game, nor do I believe in a short King in the Roman times. More about that on the forthcoming pages, but let us now follow Van der Stoep who stated:

The ancient Greeks and Romans are always bracketed together. Did the ancient Rome play draughts? Yes. The Roman name for the game was *Twelve pieces*, again an understandable name - see the classic draughts board above. The first draughts player whose name we know is Publius Mucius Scaevola, living in the 2nd c. BC. He was said to be able to play blindfolded. As one of the fathers of the Roman civil code, which influenced the modern western legislation, and as a member of the Collegium Pontificum, a sacred college with political and religious authority, he was one of Rome's most reputable citizens.

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<sup>9</sup> **WESTERVELD, Govert** (2004) La reina Isabel la Católica, su reflejo en la dama poderosa de Valencia, cuna de ajedrez moderno y origen del juego de damas. En colaboración con José Antonio Garzón Roger, Valencia. Generalidad Valenciana, Secretaria Autonómica de Cultura, pp. 2-12

<sup>10</sup> **DOEVES, Bram** (2008) Magazine Het Damspel, number 1, p. 8

### **Draughts was a game for the elite in the Roman times too.**

Scaevola shows that in Rome Draught was played by the elite. Contrary to popular belief in our time the game remained popular among the upper classes until the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Then it was eclipsed by chess, a game that borrowed twice the elements from the draughts game. But in Scaevola's time chess still did not exist.

So according to Van der Stoep, Roman citizens played draughts between the 1st and 5th century A.D. Here follows a summary of Dutch and English texts<sup>11</sup>. We see that Van der Stoep considers Alquerque-12 to be draughts and that the Alquerque-12 board, as the one figuring in the Manuscript of King Alfonso X of Castile, is still the same as the Egyptian draughts board.

### **Draughts obtained a new name.**

The incorporation of Roman laws is only one example of the Roman influence on Europe. Three countries in particular assimilated Rome's culture: France, Italy, and Spain, Romance, i.e. Latin speaking countries. One of the treasures they received was draughts. Between the 1st and 6th c. A.D. earlier the Latin name of the game was changed into *Game with pieces*. There was a second board game with this name - morris, which proves that draughts and morris were often played together.

### **A new long king: before the 8th c. AD**

This Latin name "game with pieces" was borrowed by Arab tribes. Only the name, *alquerque*, for they must have been familiar with both draughts and morris". Before the 8th c. AD an Arab draughts player thought up a new promotion rule: the king acquired greater freedom of move. The *long king* was born. In the 8th c. AD the Moors, Arab people, conquered Spain. Their draughts, more lively and speedy than the Roman game with the short king –as computer simulations prove - conquered the territory too. In the 13th century Alfonso X, king of

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<sup>11</sup> **STOEP, Arie van der** (2006) Vierduizend jaar dammen. In: Het Damspel, number 5, pp. 16-17

**STOEP, Arie van der** (2006?) Four thousand years draughts (checkers)  
In: <http://alemanni.pagesperso-orange.fr/history.html>

Castile and Leon, ordered a description of the board games played in his environment. At his court chess and tables were the most fashionable games, both profusely explained and illustrated. Draughts was disposed of in a short sloppy sketch of the rules. Fortunately the responsible clerk added a drawing of the current board with the opening position: still the Egyptian draughts board.



**Playing Arab draughts in Spain, 13th c., with a long king<sup>12</sup>**

**The [very popular] draughts game transferred to the chessboard: 14th c.**

In France between 1000 and 1500, maybe earlier, draughts was very popular given the dozens of expressions based on the game. This popularity might be responsible for an innovation made in the 14th century: a French draughts player started to play draughts on the chessboard. This innovation met with approval, so much so that draughts on the chequered board was given its own name: French *jeu*

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<sup>12</sup> <http://www.draughtshistory.nl/Chapter08.htm>  
I cannot agree to this theory of Dr. Van der Stoep.

*de dames*, meaning “game of the dams (dikes)”. Draughts players from other countries on the Continent adopted this custom together with its name, but English players preferred the name *Checkers*, literally “game on the chequered board”.

### **Introduction of the huff: 15th Century**

In the 15th century a new innovation, probably again made in France, changed the character of draughts: capturing became obliged on the penalty of the huff. An odd practice, this huff: a player overlooks a capture and his opponent takes the piece in question off the board, brings it to his lips, and blows. The game with the huff received its own name, in French *forcé*, in English *draughts*, literally “moving a piece”. Spanish draughts players adopted this rule, but extended it with multiple capture: multiple take precedes single take. As we have seen, the Spanish game is Arabic, the variety with the long king. This long king incited Spanish chess players to replace their “short” medieval queen with a “long” queen, the piece with the move of our days. The name of this new queen reminds of its origin: *dama*, taken from the Spanish word *damas*, ‘draughts’. At the 13th century court of King Alfonso draughts may have been a minor game, but two centuries later it was undoubtedly far from minor, because it could influence chess.

## **1.2 Discrepancies by other historians**

Van der Stoep does not give written proofs of the fact that Alquerque-12 was played with a long King in Spain between the 8th and 14th century. Nor does Van der Stoep prove the fact that Alquerque-12 was extremely popular in France between 1000 – 1500, nor does Van der Stoep prove that Alquerque-12 was transferred to the chessboard in France in the 14th century. However, if we take into account Dr. Pratesi’s theory, an assumption that needs more proofs<sup>13</sup>, then the draughts game was played before all among members of the leading social

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<sup>13</sup> **PRATESI, Dr. Franco** (1998) Dammen voor de hogere standen. In: Dutch draughts magazine *De Problemist*, issue 1, February, pp. 16-17

class. If this is true, then such members would have written books or manuscripts about the game. Strangely enough, this is not the case in France, but only in Spain and not in other countries in the 16th and 17th centuries. Dr. Pratesi is aware that he needs to provide proofs, but he already gave an example with the book written by Giorgio Roberti<sup>14</sup>. Roberti, a recognized authority on whose research we can rely, makes clear that draughts was for a long time played almost exclusively by representatives from the middle and upper classes. Only in the thirties of the 20th century it becomes a popular game. Here I offer an overview of Dr. Pratesi's thesis:

And what can be told about the draughts game?

I am silent on the question of the origin or the French original name that could mean in an early stage "game played by women of the aristocratic class". For me the social distribution is important. According to the common view the game remained mainly restricted to the lower classes, but that view is surely a thing to nuance. Just as other games that require a high skill, one cannot play the game on high level without much experience. Successful game playing requires, in addition to exercise, a natural aptitude and also the study of the theory: a player must analyze parties and study opening variants. It requires that someone possesses enough free time, and is able to teach himself the things or can learn from a book or take lessons from a draughts master – exactly the matters that make up the education of people from the better classes. Therefore, only the better-off could easily increase their knowledge of the game. And so, as I suggest, we can expect top players in the past, resulting from the leading social classes: nobles, representatives of the Church, army officers and merchants.

It is intriguing here to know the opinion of one of the first draughts historians in Holland, in this case the Engineer Gerard Bakker, who had in the past various discussions with Van der Stoep, and indicate here what he stated about the origin of the

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<sup>14</sup> **ROBERTI, Giorgio** (1995) *I giochi a Roma di strada e di osteria*. Edition Newton Compton, Roma, pp. 365-368

Draughts game<sup>15</sup> in the Dutch Draughts Magazine “*De Problemist*” in 2000.

**About the origin of the draughts game**

In a foreword and introduction of [the book] *Dammen zonder dammen en Dame blanche* I have (in both cases with some words) indicated a connection between (the titles of) these books and *the first historical draughts game* such as that it must have occurred around 1500 in Spain. It is known to me that Arie van der Stoep graduated with a doctoral thesis with the title *About the Origin of the Word Draughts Game* and it has not escaped me that he believes (and now writes literally) that with that work he has uncovered the origin of the draughts game. If the language facts of Arie van der Stoep points toward a prehistoric draughts game, of which the board, pieces, game, and players are still to be discovered, then I take note of this information. I am of the opinion that history cannot be reduced to language.

However, Bakker is not the only historian who has discrepancies with Van der Stoep. Jean Michel Mehl (1946) is an expert in the medieval history and the games. He graduated in 1988 in Paris precisely on the games played in France. One thing is clear for Mehl<sup>16</sup>: the draughts game was unknown in France in medieval times and his final words about draughts in France are disastrous for Van der Stoep’s vision:

Même si le jeu de dames a existé, il n’a connu aucune popularité avant le XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle.

Translation:

Even if the draughts game had existed, it had not experienced popularity before the sixteenth century.

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<sup>15</sup> **BAKKER, Ir. Gerard** (2000). Van der Stoep gecorrigeerd. In: Dutch Draughts Magazine “*De Problemist*”, Number 60, February, pp. 5-6.

<sup>16</sup> **MEHL, JEAN-MICHEL** (1990) *Les jeux au royaume de France du XIII<sup>e</sup> au d’but du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Editions Fayard, p. 147.

In France there existed a checkered board of 36 squares (18 blacks and 18 whites), but this game has nothing to do with draughts. The gameboards specialist Murray says: "Five mentions of draughts between 1200 and 1400 do not point to any great popularity in the Middle Ages<sup>17</sup>". The draughts historian Kruijswijk says: "that it did not produce more traces than a scarce number of references must mean that the game did not belong to the leading board games<sup>18</sup>".

The draughts historian Gerard Bakker cannot accept Van der Stoep's<sup>19</sup> various theories either. For Van der Stoep any checkered board in France with pieces is immediately baptized as a draughts game. However, my theorem is that checkered boards with different sizes from the chessboard before 1495 cannot be considered a draughts game. The draughts game is a continuation of Alquerque-12. Consequently, people played it in the beginning with 12 pieces. For that reason when I see a checkered board in Spain with fewer squares than a chessboard and from earlier than 1495, I do not believe it to be a draughts game. Two examples are an altar painting from the 14<sup>th</sup> century<sup>20</sup> found in the Museum of Mallorca (Spain) and the checkered boards found near the Roman Theatre of Mérida. Here they follow.

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<sup>17</sup> **MURRAY, Harold James Ruthven.** (1952) *A History of Board Games Other Than Chess*, Oxford, p. 75

<sup>18</sup> **KRUIJSWIJK, Karel Wendel** (1966) *Algemene historie en bibliografie van het damspel*, Den Haag, p. 69

<sup>19</sup> **BAKKER, Gerard** (1992) *Middeleeuws dammen? (Medieval draughts?)*. In: *Het Nieuwe Damspel*, issue 3, pp. 64-69

<sup>20</sup> **HOMO LUDENS** (1994): *Der spielende Mensch IV*, Internationale Beiträge des Institutes für Spielforschung und Spielpädagogik an der Hochschule "Mozarteum" - Salzburg. Herausgegeben von Prof. Mag. Dr. Günther C. Bauer, p. 201





Apparently a game played with pawns.  
Altar painting of St. Nicholas, St. Peter and St. Clara, 14th Century,  
Museo de Mallorca at Palma (Spain)

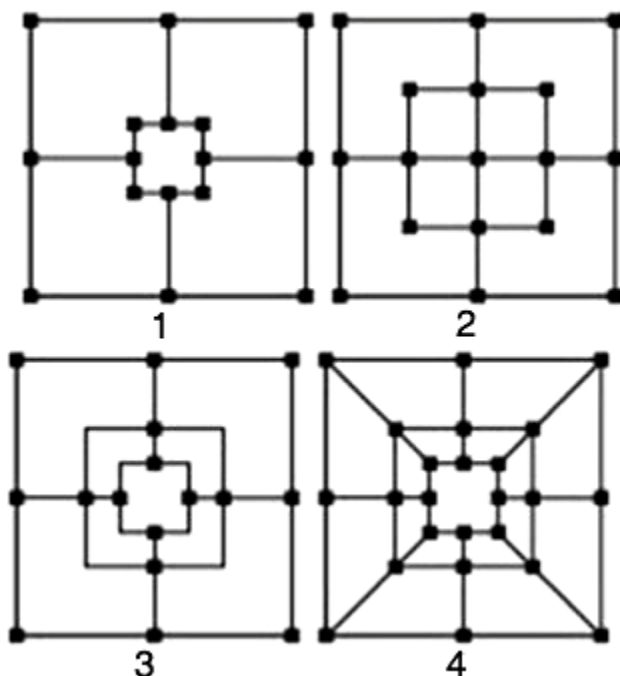


**Two checkered boards, found near the  
Roman Theatre of Mérida, Spain.**

Many archaeologists often speak of the alquerque game and then confuse the game of alquerque 9 with Alquerque-12. To distinguish the game one cannot use only the name "alquerque", but it is necessary to add a number to the game. Thus Alquerque 3, Alquerque 9, or Alquerque-12. Alquerque 9 uses a board known as the Nine Men's Morris. This board sometimes bears 12 pieces. One cannot suffice to mention only the game as Alquerque-12 because here it is necessary to state the word mill or publish the corresponding board. This way one avoids confusion with Alquerque-12 described in the book of King Alfonso The Wise, in 1283.

Both alquerque 3 and alquerque 9 were known in Roman times. The situation is completely different for Alquerque-12. It is said that the alquerque has its origin in Egypt. Perhaps this is the case for alquerque 3 and 9, but never for Alquerque-12. Some authors claim that Alquerque-12 is a Greek or Roman game, but

the great expert in these games Dr. Ulrich Schädler discards that theory<sup>21</sup>.



The Alquerque 9 (Roman game) now known as Nine Men's Morris or Mills. Board 1 (5 pieces), Board 2 (7 pieces), Board 3 (normal game with 9 pieces), Panel 4 (12 pieces).

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<sup>21</sup> **SCHÄDLER, Ulrich** (2009) Pente grammai – the ancient Greek Boardgame Give Lines. In: Proceedings of Board Game Studies. Colloquim xi, Lisboa 173-196. Edition Jorge Nuno Silva

However, after the devastating articles by several historians about Egypt and Greece Dr. Van der Stoep decided in 2009 to change his view of the history of draughts and suddenly stated that the Egyptians and Greeks never had played draughts. He ended his article as follows<sup>22</sup>:

The conclusion should be that supposedly draughts was known neither in ancient Egypt, nor in ancient Greece, nor in ancient Rome. But there are some uncertainties.

It is true that the Roman Empire took over the Greek games, but Alquerque-12 did not belong to the Greek games. The games *Ludus Latrunculorum*, *Duodecim Scruporum* and *Pentagrammai* are described in my books, but I consider Dr. Ulrich Schädler to be the best boardgames expert for the rules of these games. Van der Stoep thought that Scaevola with his *Ludus Duodecim* was a draughts player, but again we have to refer to Dr. Ulrich Schädler who showed that this is a tric-trac game<sup>23</sup>.

Being aware of the fact that to this day there still exists some confusion about the Alquerque-12 game I have concentrated this time on the history of this board game. Again we see that Spain has an important history of this game too. For that reason I explain in this book the history of Alquerque-12 together with notes on the draughts game in order to contradict Murray. It is quite clear that there are still some historians who do not believe in Isabelle of Castile and I am quite sure that the same will happen with my history of Alquerque-12. On the other hand I am also quite sure that there will be other historians who will ameliorate my points of view and that in future I will undergo

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<sup>22</sup> **STOEP, Arie van der** (2009) In: <http://draughtshistory.nl/Chapter09.htm>

<sup>23</sup> **SCHÄDLER, Ulrich** (1995) *Scripta, Alea, Tabula – New Evidence for the Roman History of «Backgammon»*. In: *New Approaches to Board Games Research: Asian Origins and Future Perspectives*, ed. A.J. de Voogt, Leiden, pp. 73-98

the same fate as Murray. However, this is the consequence of research, where we all are interested in seeing the full truth at the end.

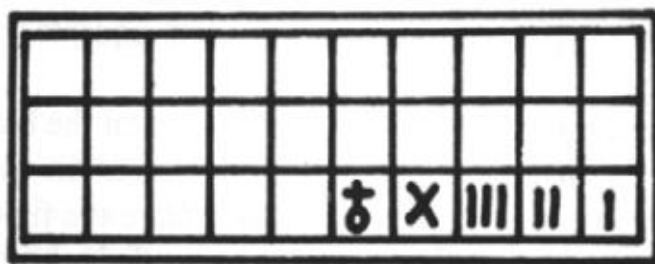
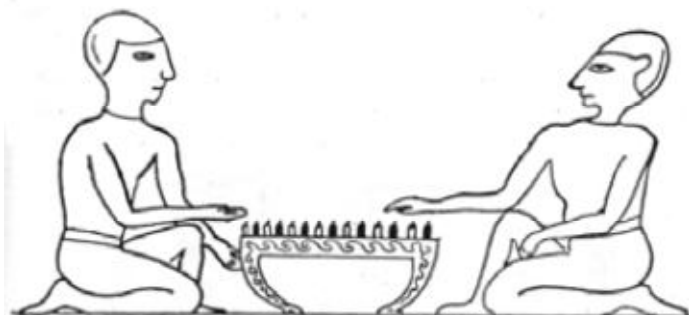


The Spanish history of Alquerque-12 is so important that it is worthwhile to have some books written about this game. First of all I will briefly discuss the Egyptian, Greek, and Roman games and then thoroughly the game of Alquerque-12.

**Harold James Rutven Murray**

## 2 THE ANCIENT EGYPTIAN GAMES

Ancient Egyptian game boxes were often qualified<sup>24</sup> as draughts, because there was a board with squares and uniform pieces. As a result of that terms like “Jeu de Dames” and “Draughts” were used incorrectly.



The Senet board game

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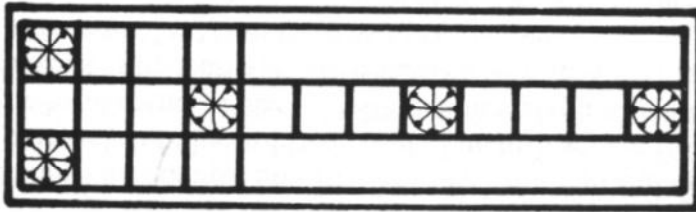
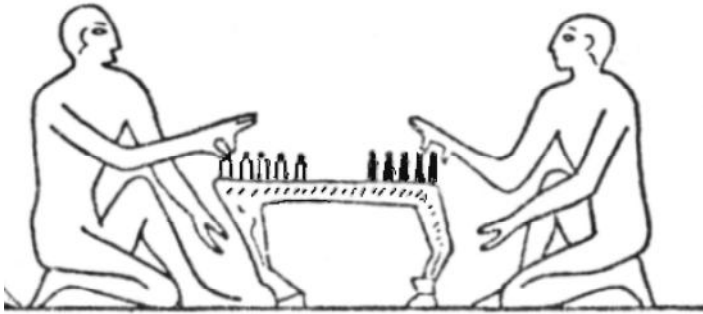
<sup>24</sup> **BIRCH, Samuel** (1870). Rhampsinitus and the game of draughts. Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature of the United Kingdom, chapter 9, pp. 256-270.

**FALKENER, Edward** (1892). Games Ancient & Oriental and how to play them. London, p. 111.



**Senet piece**

The games played in Egypt were probably Senet, Han and Tau, of which the last game Lamer<sup>25</sup> considered as a precursor of the Greek and Latin mind game.



**The Tau board game**

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<sup>25</sup> **LAMER, Hans** (1927). *Lusoria tabula*. Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft. Volume 13, Stuttgart, p. 1908.

Limbrey<sup>26</sup>, Pieper<sup>27</sup>, Wiedemann<sup>28</sup>, Towry<sup>29</sup>, Nash<sup>30</sup> and Wilkinson<sup>31</sup> have also written about the Egyptian board games, but these games have nothing to do with the draughts. Little is known about the Han game and perhaps this game is still played in Nigeria<sup>32</sup>.

## 2.1 The erroneous date of Murray.

Today all historians and archaeologists are following Murray<sup>33</sup>, and state that the alquerque game is original to Egypt in the 14th and 13th century B.C., because they have found boards carved in the blocks of stone that form the roof of the great temple in Kurna, Egypt. I have already explained in my book of 2004 that I did not believe in the fact that the Draughts were played in

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<sup>26</sup> **LIMBREY, G.H.** (1913). The ancient history of the game of draughts, London.

<sup>27</sup> **PIEPER, Max** (1909). Das Brettspiel der alten Ägypter und seine Bedeutung für die ägyptische Totenkultur, Berlin.

<sup>28</sup> **WIEDEMANN, Alfred** (1897). Das Brettspiel bei den alten Aegyptern, Leiden.

<sup>29</sup> **TOWRY, E.** (1902). Types of ancient Egyptian draughts-men. Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology: 11 June, vol. 24, pp. 261-263.

<sup>30</sup> **NASH, W.L.** (1902). Ancient Egyptian draughts-boards and draughts-men. Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology: 10 december, 1902; vol. XXIV, p. 341-348.

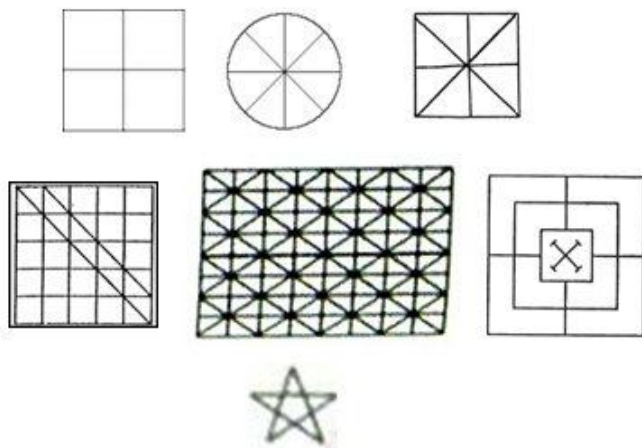
<sup>31</sup> **WILKINSON, John Gardner** (1878). The manners and customs of the ancient Egyptians. Editie van Samuel Birch, London, vol. 2, pp. 55-60.

<sup>32</sup> **MURRAY, Harold James Ruthven.** (1952) A history of Board-games other than chess, Oxford, p. 14.

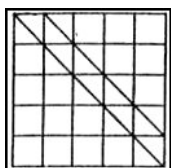
<sup>33</sup> **MURRAY, Harold James Ruthven** (1952) A History of Board Games Other Than Chess, Oxford, p. 19



Egypt<sup>34</sup>. Murray's research was based on Parker<sup>35</sup> and Murray suggested<sup>36</sup> that an unfinished board at Kurna may have been intended for the game of Alquerque-12.



Various drawings in the book of Murray, 1952



However, Murray made his drawing with 25 squares and that is not the same as the drawing that Parker gave in this book of only 16 squares.

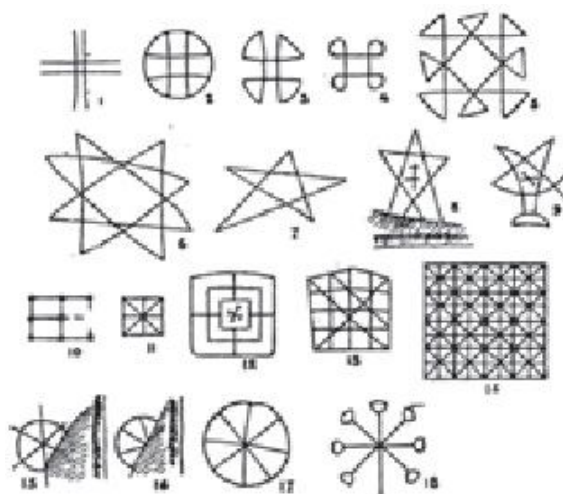
### Murray's Drawing, 1952

<sup>34</sup> **WESTERVELD, Govert** (2004) La reina Isabel la Católica, su reflejo en la dama poderosa de Valencia, cuna de ajedrez moderno y origen del juego de damas. En colaboración con José Antonio Garzón Roger, Valencia. Generalidad Valenciana, Secretaria Autonómica de Cultura, pp. 1-2

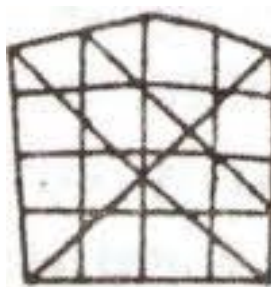
<sup>35</sup> **PARKER, Henry** (1909) Ancient Ceylon, London. Pages 579 and 644. Drawings on p. 644.

We found this book online: <http://books.lakdiva.org/parker.html>

<sup>36</sup> **MURRAY, Harold James Ruthven** (1952) A History of Board Games Other Than Chess, Oxford, p. 65



**Various drawings in the book of Parker, 1909**



**Parker's drawing of the board at Kurna**

Ulrich Schädler, the famous boardgame specialist of the Roman and Greek games and director of the Swiss Musée du jeu in La Tour-de-Peilz, made the first step to indicate to boardgame researchers where to obtain a photo of the presumed alquerque 12 drawing of Kurna, as well as having a scientific opinion from the Egyptologists<sup>37</sup>.

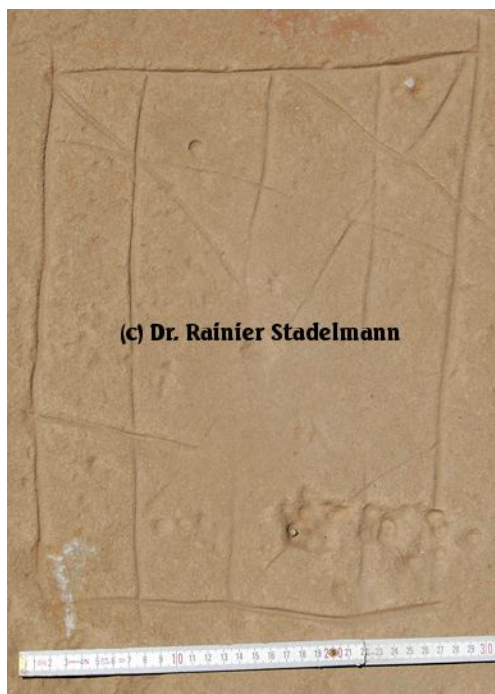
The studies of Wim van Mourik in *Het Damspel* and Robert Charles Bell<sup>38</sup>, and Ulrich Schädler are sufficient to prove that there was no draughts game at the time of the Pharaohs in Egypt. Friedrich Berger also states that the drawings cannot be dated due to Coptic (Christian) crosses<sup>39</sup>.

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<sup>37</sup> **MOURIK, Wim van** (2007) 100 jaar later en nog geen foto. In: *Het Damspel*, N° 4, parte 1, pp. 34-35

<sup>38</sup> **BELL, Robert Charles** (1960) Board and Table Games From Many Civilizations, New York, Vol. 1, p. 47

<sup>39</sup> **BERGER, Friedrich** (2004) From Circle and Square to the Image of the World: A Possible Interpretation for Some Petroglyphs of Merels Boards. In: *Rock Art Research*, Volume 21, issue 1, pp. 11-25. Citation on p. 15



**The presumed Alquerque-12 drawing in the game board of Gisa  
(Egypt). Carving into the roof of the Luxor temple at Kurna  
Photo: © Rainier Stadelmann**

On the other hand it is quite interesting to know that the German archaeologist and Egyptologist Rainer Stadelmann came to the same conclusion with good documentary evidence. The research of Van Mourik and Dr. Stadelmann clearly prove that the drawing made by Parker was not the correct one and was completely different from the drawing shown in Stadelmann's photo. For that reason we can state today that the Kurna temple had nothing to do with Alquerque-12 and draughts<sup>40</sup>.

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<sup>40</sup> **MOURIK, Wim van** (2009) Senet, Tau of Damspel? In: *Het Damspel*, N°. 1, pp. 34-35



**Stone from Gisa (British Museum, London) ?  
According to Marco Fitta (167, nr. 277)**

The Dutch draughts historian Wim van Mourik critically analysed the book of Marco Fitta<sup>41</sup> and what now follows is a summary of his article<sup>42</sup> in a Dutch draughts magazine:

If we are to believe Fitta, the Alquerque-12 game board that we see on a stone here comes from Gisa (Gizeh), Egypt, at the time of Ramses I and the game is similar to our draughts game. However, as vagueness, ignorance, or deceptions come into sight, the writer is losing credibility. Fitta states that the British Museum in London is the

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**SCHÄDLER, Ulrich** (2009) *Pente grammai – the Ancient Greek Boardgame Give Lines*. In: *Proceedings of Board Game Studies Colloquium xi*, Lisboa 173-196. Edition Jorge Nuno Silva

<sup>41</sup> **FITTA, Marco** (1998) *Spiele und Spielzeug in der Antike, Unterhaltung und Vergnügen im Altertum.*, pp. 162-179. This is a German translation of the work **FITTA, Marco** (1997) *Giochi e giocattoli nell' antichità*

<sup>42</sup> **MOURIK, Wim van** (2008) *Het Damspel*, issue 3, pp. 35-36

proprietary of this alquerque stone. So those who would like to see this stone have to travel to London to convince themselves about the stone. However, those who are actually interested in seeing the stone would do better to make a trip to the German Xanten.



**Playing squares on a tile, fragment, Rheinisches Landesmuseum Bonn,  
Inv. Nr. 6320a**

**© Rheinisches Photo Landesmuseum Bonn Film 507/74 (Anita Rieche,  
50, 71**

When Van Mourik saw the book of Dr. Anita Rieche<sup>43</sup> he quickly came to the conclusion that Fitta printed a mirror image of a baked tile (tegula) from Roman times found in the Ulpia Traiana Colonia (Xanten) in insula 27. Dr. Rieche is very careful with her opinion when she says that the rapidly incised

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<sup>43</sup> **RIECHE, Anita** (1984) Römische Kinder- und Gesellschaftsspiele. Württemberg

lines possibly display a board game of Ludus Latrunculorum. The diagonals would not have a specific meaning at all.



**Draughts historian Wim van Mourik**

Thanks to the collaboration of Andrea Bussmann commissioned by Dr. Ana Riech, Rheinisches Landesmuseum Bonn and Edeltraud Mittag, Archaelologischer Park / Regionalmuseum Xanten, we can here observe the mirror image of the presumed Gisa stone.

It is also clear here that we can forget that Alquerque-12 had been played in the Egyptian time. Fables and fairy tales continue to exist about the origin of the draughts game.

### 3 THE ANCIENT GREEK GAMES

The ancient Greek games were described by the contemporaries Pollux<sup>44</sup> and Suetonius<sup>45</sup>. The game diagrammismos (grammai) appears to be the same as the Roman board game duodecim scripta<sup>46</sup>.



**Achilles and Ajax are playing five lines**

This image, that appears on a Greek vase, dates from the 7th century BC, is from the Etruscan culture, and is still visible in Rome in the Vatican Museum *Gregoriano Etrusco*<sup>47</sup>. The two

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<sup>44</sup> **POLLUX, Julius (PÓLUX)** (1608). Julli Pollucis Onomasticon decem libris constans <...> adjecta interpretatio latina Rodolphi Gualtheri <...> studio at que opera Wolfgangi Seberi <...>, Francofurti <...>, 2 parts en 1 vol.

<sup>45</sup> **SUETONIUS** (1860). A. Reifferscheid - C. Suetoni Tranquili Reliquilli.

<sup>46</sup> **AUSTIN, R.G.** (1940). Greek Board-Games, in: *Antiquity*; Archaeologisch Instituut der Rijksuniversiteit Utrecht, pp. 257-271.

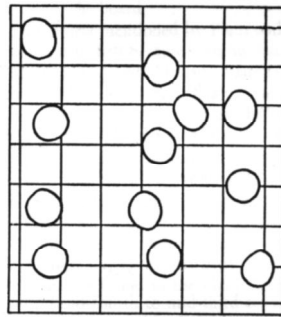
<sup>47</sup> **ARIAS, Paola Enrico & HIRMER, Max** (1960) *Tausend Jahre griechische Vasenkunst*, München



soldiers are playing five lines (pente grammai), as can be seen from the depiction of the gaming board on a vase in the museum in Brussels. Murray states that the game petteia (polis) is nothing else than the Roman game Ludus Latrunculorum<sup>48</sup>. However, petteia is not the name of a game but a generic Greek term indicating “board game” that derives from the word *pessos* = stone, gaming piece. Hesychius speaks about diagrammismos, a game with 60 stones, which Eustathius confirms in the 12th century, but Murray<sup>49</sup> believed more in an error on the part of Hesychius.



**Athenian “Terracotta Group”**



**Board Position  
“Terracotta Group”**

The game of polis is described by Pollux<sup>50</sup> and appears to be a game on a grid with uniform pieces called dogs, and this game was the earlier Greek version of the Roman latrunculi. The intention is to block the enemy pieces and capture them by

<sup>48</sup> **MURRAY, Harold James Rutven.** (1952) A history of Board-games other than chess, Oxford, p. 34.

<sup>49</sup> **MURRAY, Harold James Rutven.** (1952) A history of Board-games other than chess, Oxford, p. 27.

<sup>50</sup> **POLLUX, Julius (PÓLUX)** (1608) Julli Pollucis Onomasticon decem libris constans <...> adjecta interpretatio latina Rodolphi Gualtheri <...> studio at que opera Wolfgangi Seberi <...>, Francofurti <...>, 2 parts en 1 vol.

trapping. Also in the Seega game<sup>51</sup> there are pieces called dogs (kelb, pl. Kilâb).

Little game material has been found in Greece. The earlier indicated drawing of the Athenian terracotta group appears in Richter<sup>52</sup> and was first described by Bursian<sup>53</sup>. It is further discussed by Michaelis<sup>54</sup> and Blümner<sup>55</sup>. Other authors who wrote about the Greek games were Coleridge<sup>56</sup>, Dumont<sup>57</sup>, Becker<sup>58</sup>, André<sup>59</sup>, Severino<sup>60</sup>, Meurs<sup>61</sup>, Wayte<sup>62</sup>, and Lafaye<sup>63</sup>.

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<sup>51</sup> **MURRAY, Harold James Rutven** (1952) *A History of Board Games Other Than Chess*, Oxford, p. 54

<sup>52</sup> **RICHTER, W.** (1887) *Spiele der Griechen und Römer*, Leipzig

<sup>53</sup> **BURSIAN, C.** (1855) *Archäolog. Zeitung* 13, p. 55

<sup>54</sup> **MICHAELIS, AD.** (1863) Terracotagruppe aus Athen. *Archäologische Zeitung*, mei, jaargang 21, pp. 37-43

<sup>55</sup> **BLÜMNER, Hugo** (1885) *Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums*, München, pp. 354-355

<sup>56</sup> **COLERIDGE, Herbert** (1860) *On Greek and Roman chess*, published in the chess work of Duncan Forbes, the history of Chess, London, 1860

<sup>57</sup> **DUMONT, Albert** (1870) *De plumbeis apud Graecos tesseriis*. Paris

<sup>58</sup> **BECKER, Wilhelm Adolph** (1840) *Bilder altgriechische Sitte*, Leipzig, part 1, pp. 481-486

<sup>59</sup> **ANDRÉ, J.M.** (1984) *Les loisirs en Grèce et à Rome*, Paris

<sup>60</sup> **SEVERINO, Marco Aurelio** (1690) *Dell'antica pettia overo che Palamede non è stato l'inventor degli scacchi*, Napoli

<sup>61</sup> **MEURS, Jan van** (1619) *Graecia feriata, sive de festis Graecorum libri VI*, Lugduni

<sup>62</sup> **WAYTE, William** (1901) *Latrunculi. A dictionary of greek and roman antiquities*, London, part 2, pp. 11-13

<sup>63</sup> **LAFAYE, Georges** (1904) *Latrunculi. Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines d'après les textes et les monuments*, part 3, pp. 992-995

## 4 THE ANCIENT ROMAN GAMES

Generally speaking the Romans knew four board games, namely Alea<sup>64</sup>, Ludus Duodecim Scripta, Ludus Latrunculorum, and a game without a name described by the poet Ovid, but the game had to do with the little mill.

### 4.1 Duodecim Scripta

Some knowledge of the games from Roman times is important to us, because it happens too often that a Roman board game is mistaken for a draughts game and that is not correct. On the other hand we see appear on the Internet nice irresponsible inventions of other presumed Roman games and in this case I prefer to follow the board game specialist in Greek and Roman Games Dr. Ulrich Schädler:

What is written about the board games *XII scripta*, the presumed game *tabula*, and a game the author calls “felix sex” which has never existed is a completely misleading invention of the author without any idea of what serious research into Roman board games has brought to light<sup>65</sup>. The boards of the game the author calls “felix sex” are simply boards for *XII scripta* and *alea*.

The reconstruction of ancient games is a very complicated subject where archaeological evidence, literary sources in Greek

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<sup>64</sup> **CARDANO, Girolamo** (1663) Liber de ludo Aleae. Lugduni

<sup>65</sup> See in this case the important studies:

**SCHÄDLER, Ulrich** (1995) XII Scripta, Alea, Tabula – new evidence for the Roman history of “Backgammon”, in: A. J. de Voogt (ed.), New Approaches to Board Games Research, Leiden 1995), pp. 73-98

**SCHÄDLER, Ulrich** (1998) Mancala in Roman Asia Minor?, in: Board Games Studies 1, 1998, pp. 10-25

and Latin, and knowledge of general mechanisms of board games must be combined. It is not enough to study the English books, because other relevant studies should also be taken into account<sup>66</sup>.

So Caro<sup>67</sup> observes that San Isidoro<sup>68</sup> already distinguishes two types of pieces; those of the damas (Kings, Queens) as Vagues (vagi) and those of the pawns as Ordinaries (ordinarii). Caro is wrong here, because San Isidoro's reference to the pieces has nothing to do with draughts. The conscious text of San Isidoro has to do with the Duodecim Scripta and the related Alea game<sup>69</sup>. Avigliano made the same mistake centuries later<sup>70</sup>.

## 4.2 Ludus Latrunculorum (Latrunculi).

The game of Ludus Latrunculorum, also called Latrunculi, is of importance to us. Some authors, such as Hyde<sup>71</sup>, considered this erroneously to be a draughts game. Caylus<sup>72</sup> claims that the Romans played on a board with alternating white and black

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<sup>66</sup> **LAMER, Hans** (1927) *Lusoria tabula*. Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft. Volume 13, Stuttgart, 2: col. 1900-2029  
**RIECHE, Anita** (1984) *Römische Kinder- und Gesellschaftsspiele*. Württemberg

<sup>67</sup> **CARO, Rodrigo** (1624) *Días geniales o lúdricos*, Manuscript. Editie van Jean-Pierre Etienvre, Espasa-Calpe S.A., Madrid 1978. 2 Volumes. Part I, pp. 202-203

<sup>68</sup> **SAN ISIDORO**. *Etymologiarum libri XX of De originibus*, lib. XVIII, cap. 67, *De calculorum motu*. (Edición Bac, Madrid 1982)

<sup>69</sup> **AUSTIN, R.G.** (1935) Roman Board games. *Greece & Rome*, nov. 1934, feb. 1935, section 4, p. 76

<sup>70</sup> **AVIGLIANO, Luigi** (1927) *La dama nel giuoco moderno*. Preceduta da una introduzione storica, Milano, pp. 1-39

<sup>71</sup> **HYDE, Thomas** (1694b) *De Ludis Orientalibus*, Oxford. Volume II

<sup>72</sup> **CAYLUS** (1761) *Recueil d'antiquités*, A.P.C. de Tubières, Paris, IV, p. 264

squares, which was accepted by Becq de Fouquières<sup>73</sup>. This is not correct since in ancient Rome the checkering of game boards was unknown.

According to Murray<sup>74</sup> Latrunculi has nothing to do with draughts. Gortmans<sup>75</sup> already came to this conclusion in his articles.



**Draughts historian Godefridus Laurentius Gortmans  
(1894-1956)**

Several attempts to reach a clear gameplay for the Ludus Latrunculorum had been undertaken by Becq de Fouquières<sup>76</sup>, Falkener<sup>77</sup>, Murray<sup>78</sup>, Bell<sup>79</sup>, Schmitt<sup>80</sup>, and lately Schädler<sup>81</sup>.

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<sup>73</sup> **BECQ DE FOUQUIÈRES, Louis** (1869) Les Jeux des anciens, leur description, leur origine (.....). Paris, p. 432

<sup>74</sup> **MURRAY, Harold James Rutven** (1952) A History of Board Games Other Than Chess, Oxford, p. 34

<sup>75</sup> **GORTMANS, Godefridus Laurentius** (1926) Het sprookje van de Grieksche en Romeinse afkomst van het damspel. In: Draughts Magazine *Het Damspel* from July, pp. 119-120; September, pp. 153 and 154; October, p. 172

<sup>76</sup> **BECQ DE FOUQUIÈRES, Louis** (1869). Les Jeux des anciens, leur description, leur origine (.....). Paris.

The first trace to Ludus Latrunculorum leads to Marcus Terentius Varro (116-27 BC). The rules are incompletely represented by Ovid, Martial, Seneca and the author of the poem Laus Pisonis. Roma Ludens<sup>82</sup> describes which famous Romans practiced the board game.

## Rules of Ludus Latrunculorum

Here are some incomplete rules on the basis of what Bakker<sup>83</sup> wrote in the Vacature and of which the texts also were a matter of study by Hyde<sup>84</sup>.

**Publius Ovidius Naso (Ovide, Ars Amatorio III, 357/360):**

Cautaque, non stulte, latronum proelia ludat, unus cum gemino  
calculus hoste perit, bellatorque sua prensus sine compare bellat,  
aemulus et coeptum saepe recurrit iter.

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<sup>77</sup> **FALKENER, Edward.** (1892). Games Ancient & Oriental and how to play them. London.

<sup>78</sup> **MURRAY, Harold James Rutven.** (1952) A history of Board-games other than chess, Oxford.

<sup>79</sup> **BELL, R.C.** (1979) Board and table games from many civilizations, New York.

<sup>80</sup> **SCHMITT, A.** (1977). Spielen wie die Römer spielten, Jahrbuch des Beethovengymnasiums, Bonn.

<sup>81</sup> **SCHÄDLER, Ulrich** (1994). Latrunculi - ein verlorenes strategisches Brettspiel der Römer, in: **HOMO LUDENS**, Der Spielende Mensch IV. Internationale Beiträge des Institutes für Spielforschung und Spielpädagogik an der Hochschule Mozarteum Salzburg, Salzburg, pp. 47-67.

<sup>82</sup> **VÄTERLEIN, J.** (1976). Roma Ludens. Kinder und Erwachsene beim Spiel im antiken Rom, Amsterdam.

<sup>83</sup> **BAKKER, Gerard** (1980-83). Dammen in den beginne. Series of 57 episodes in the draughts section of the educative magazine, De Vacature, between 1980 and 1983 (Number 20), Deventer.

<sup>84</sup> **HYDE, Thomas** (1694b). De Ludis Orientalibus, Oxford. Volume II.

Translation:

Play not imprudently in the artful combat of the Little Robbers, an isolated soldier must perish if he attacks two enemies at once. And a warrior wars without his companion who's been taken, and a rival often has to return the way he began.

**Publius Ovidius Naso (Ovide, Tristia 2, 477-480):**

...discolor ut recto grassetur limite miles, cum medius gemino calculus hoste perit; ut bellare sequens sciat et revocare priorem nec tuto fugiens inomitatus eat.

**Translation:**

... your soldiers, of different colors, must follow closely the straight line, and when there is a risk of losing a piece trapped between two enemies, the art is to support the first piece and to ensure that his retirement could be done safely and accompanied.

One can move the pieces forward and backward. A piece too far advanced can return with the help of another own piece.



**Marcus Valerius Martialis**

**Marcus Valerius Martialis: (Martialis, Epigrammata 14-17, 2):**

Hac mihi bis seno numeratur tessera puncto: calculus hic gemino discolor hoste perit.

**Translation:**

On one side (of the board) the dices give me double sixes; on the other side the piece of different colour is lost by double enemies.  
Each side has pieces of a different color.

In an anonymous poem that survives under the name of *Laus Pisonis* the party game of the Roman statesman Gaius Calpurnius was mentioned<sup>85</sup>:

Te si forte iuvat studiorum pondere fessum, non languere tamen,  
lususque movere per artem: callidiore modo tabula variatur aperta  
calculus, et vitreo peraguntur milite bella: ut niveus nigros, nunc et  
niger alliget albos.

**Translation:**

If you please sometimes, when weary with the weight of studies, to be nevertheless not inactive but to play games of skill, then on the open board in more cunning fashion a piece is moved into different positions and the war is waged to a finish with glass soldiers, so that white blocks the black pieces, and black blocks the white.

Gladys Martin even wrote a thesis on *Laus Pisonis*<sup>86</sup> stating that the date of this poem can clearly be no later than 65 A.D.

Sed tibi quis non terga dedit? quis te duce cessit calculus? aut quis non periturus perdidit hostem? Mille modis acies tua dimicat: ille petentem, dum fugit, ipse rapit: longo venit ille recessu, qui stetit in speculis: hic se committere rixae audet, et in praedam venientem

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<sup>85</sup> **JUNIUS, Hadrianus** (1556) *Lucani poema ad Calpurnium Pisonem ex Libro Catalecton in Animadversorum Libri Sex*. Basel

**SCALIGER, Jos.** (1573) *Lucani ad Calpurn. Pisonem Paneguricum in Virgilii Maronis Appendix*, Lyon

<sup>86</sup> **MARTIN, Gladys** (1917). *Laus Pisonis*. A thesis presented to the faculty of the graduate school of Cornell University for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.



decipit hostem. Ancipites subit ille moras, similisque ligato obligat ipse duos: hic ad maiora movetur, ut citus ecfrecta prorumpat in agmina mandra, clausaque deiecto populetur moenia vallo. Interea sectis quamvis acerrima surgant proelia militibus; plena tamen ipse phalange; aut etiam paucio spoliata milite, vincis, et tibi captiva resonat manus utraque turba.

Translation: (Wight<sup>87</sup>, 1934)

But what player has not retreated before you? Or what piece before capture has not reduced the enemy? In a thousand ways your army fights: one piece, as it retreats, itself captures its pursuer: a reserve piece, standing on the alert, comes from its distant retreat- this one dares to join the fray and cheats the enemy coming for his spoil. Another piece submits to risky delays and, seemingly checked, itself checks two more: this one moves towards higher results, so that, quickly played and breaking the opponent's defensive line, it may burst out on his forces and, when the rampart is down, devastate the enclosed city. Meanwhile, however fierce rises the conflict among the men in their divided ranks, still you win with your phalanx intact or deprived of only a few men, and both your hands rattle with the crowd of pieces you have taken.

We observe that white and black glass pieces are used. Captured pieces are removed from the board and the pieces should be kept together in lines. With regards to the other rules of the game we know that archaeological research has confirmed that uniform pieces were used<sup>88</sup> and a surrounded piece could not be removed immediately from the board<sup>89</sup>. The pieces are brought

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<sup>87</sup> **WIGHT DUFF, J.** (1934) *Minor Latin Poets*. Harvard University Press, London. Editor William Heineman Ltd.

<sup>88</sup> **MURRAY, Harold James Rutven** (1952) *A History of Board Games Other Than Chess*, Oxford, p. 33

**TILLEY, Arthur** (1892) *Ludus Latrunculorum*. *The Classical Review*, oct., p. 335

<sup>89</sup> **BECQ DE FOUQUIÈRES, Louis** (1869) *Les Jeux des anciens, leur description, leur origine* (.....). Paris, p. 432

**SÉNECA**. *Letters*, 117:30

one by one on the board<sup>90</sup> and the game Ludus Latrunculorum is quite similar to the Seega game<sup>91</sup>. The game was played by two people on a board on which lines were drawn to obtain a certain number of playing fields. Further archaeological research has shown that the game was not played with an exact number of squares. Boards were found<sup>92</sup> that had 7x7, 7x8, 8x8, 9x9, 9x10, and even fields of 10x13.

The game of Ludus Latrunculorum has been discussed in the works of Anonymous<sup>93</sup>, Mommeian<sup>94</sup>, Clerc<sup>95</sup>, Averani<sup>96</sup>, and

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<sup>90</sup> **SCHÄDLER, Ulrich** (1994) Latrunculi - ein verlorenes strategisches Brettspiel der Römer, in: **HOMO LUDENS**, Der Spielende Mensch IV. Internationale Beiträge des Institutes für Spielforschung und Spielpädagogik an der Hochschule Mozarteum Salzburg, Salzburg, pp. 47-67

<sup>91</sup> **BELL, R.C.** (1979) Board and Table Games From Many Civilizations, New York, Part I, pp. 82-87

<sup>92</sup> **MURRAY, Harold James Rutven** (1952) A History of Board Games Other Than Chess, Oxford, p. 33

**SCHÄDLER, Ulrich** (1994) Latrunculi - ein verlorenes strategisches Brettspiel der Römer, in: **HOMO LUDENS**, Der Spielende Mensch IV. Internationale Beiträge des Institutes für Spielforschung und Spielpädagogik an der Hochschule Mozarteum Salzburg, Salzburg, pp. 47-67, citation on p. 50

<sup>93</sup> **ANONYMOUS** (1647) Ludus Latrunculorum. Stein oder Schachspiel. Frankfurt bey Iohann Hüttern

**ANONYM OUS** (1663) Ludus Latrunculorum. Stein oder Schachspiel. Frankfurt bey Christ: Hermsdorffn

**ANONYM OUS** (1678) Palamedes redivivus. Das ist Nothwendiger Unterricht. Wie die heutiges Tages Gebräuchliche Spiele Als Das Stein=oder Schach=spiel. Item Das Picquet= Hoick und Thurn=Spiel. Nach Künstl. Wissenschaft recht und wohl zu spielen (.....), Leipzig

<sup>94</sup> **MOMMEIAN, B.** (1560) Ludi Latrunculorum brevis descriptio, Parisiis. A latin poem on chess, in which a draughts (game?) with 24 disks is discussed. The text has been displayed in the French chess magazine Le Palamède of Oct. 1847, pp. 454-465

<sup>95</sup> **CLERC, David Le** (1687) Orationes, computus ecclesiasticus, et poemata, Amstelaedami, 1687, pp. 86-94

Tilley<sup>97</sup>. Hieronymus (Girolanus) Cardanus<sup>98</sup>, also called Cardan or Cardano, wrote a book using the title *The Ludus Latrunculorum*, but this work has been lost<sup>99</sup>. This famous Italian scholar was so addicted to the game that at some point in his life he had to sell all furniture and his wife's jewelry.

### **Games derivative of Ludus Latronculorum**

It is generally accepted that the game of Ludus Latrunculorum is known nowhere and extinct. But this seems a premature conclusion, a game that was earlier played by millions of people in many countries cannot just die without leaving a trace. The game probably still exists under a different name or with slight modifications in countries where a traditional culture reigns. Various games, which we still know today, emerged from the Roman strategy game. The course and the capture were derived from this game. Primitive tribes did not have boards and were obliged to draw lines in the sand with sticks. This becomes clear when we see later on how the Bataks draw their chessboard. Therefore a closer look at the games that had to do with the Roman games can give us some more information. In this sense we are very grateful to Jansen who sought this information in The Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies in Leiden and in the Library of the Teyler Museum in Haarlem. Jansen made a study of six games:

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<sup>96</sup> **AVERANI, Giuseppe** (1743) De calculorum seu latrunculorum ludo - Miscellanea di varie operette – Venice. Volume 7, pp. 461-573

<sup>97</sup> **TILLEY, Arthur** (1892) Ludus Latrunculorum. In: The Classical Review, oct., pp. 335-336

<sup>98</sup> **CARDANUS, Girolanus <CARDAN of CARDANO>** (1557) De rerum varietate

<sup>99</sup> **CALVO, Ricardo** (1991) Birthplace of modern chess. New in Chess, Alkmaar (Holanda)

- Papan Chator<sup>100</sup>
- Apit-Sodok<sup>101</sup>
- Mak-Yeak<sup>102</sup>
- Gâla<sup>103</sup>
- Tafl-Hnefatafl
- Seega

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<sup>100</sup> **JANSEN, ROB** (1994). Papan Chator. In: Draughts Magazine “*Hoofdlijn*”, Amsterdam. Number 34, pp. 22-23.

<sup>101</sup> **JANSEN, ROB** (1992). Apit-Sodok. In: Draughts Magazine “*Hoofdlijn*”, Amsterdam. Number 23, pp. 18-19.

<sup>102</sup> **JANSEN, ROB** (1992). Mak-Yeak. In: Draughts Magazine “*Hoofdlijn*”, Amsterdam. Number 23, p. 19.

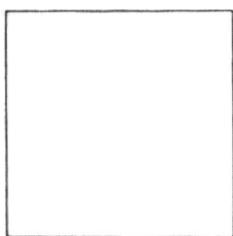
<sup>103</sup> **JANSEN, ROB** (1992). Gâla. In: Draughts Magazine “*Hoofdlijn*”, Amsterdam. Number 25, pp. 22-23.

## 4.2.1 Papan Chator

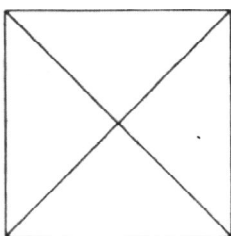
### PAPAN CHATOR, THE SECRET OF THE BATAKS.

In the second half of the 19th century the interior of Central and North Sumatra was still terra incognita. A single Chinese or Malay trader never went on an expedition. The Bataks fully realized the threat posed by the Dutch authorities in the south and refused to receive the Europeans in a friendly manner. Therefore people only slowly gained knowledge about this people. The phenomenon of cannibalism was not uncommon in these parts, but on the other hand the writing already was very well known (historical narratives which were written on the tree bark and stores in tubes).

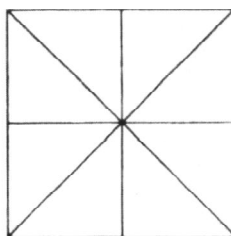
In 1904 appeared a remarkable book written by Armin von Oefele about another aspect of life there. The German ethnologist expressed his surprise over the fact that nature people practiced a culture game. In 1930 Max Euwe encountered at first hand during his Indian tour how strong the Bataks were at playing chess. He had to allow many draws.



1.



2. Board game for  
throwing coins



3. Three men's  
Morris

**Board Phase 2:** suitable for playing a Medieval game “France le Carreau” (game of throwing coins).

**Board Phase 3:** suitable for playing Alquerque 3 on the small board for the Mill game. (Three men’s Morris or Tic-tac-toe) Schliemann<sup>104</sup> found this drawing in the ruins of Troya.

At least 2000 years’ history is becoming visible when one looks at how the Bataks drew their chessboard.

(Von Oefele<sup>105</sup>): “Die 64 Felder des Spielplanes sind bei den Batakern nicht der Farbe nach unterschieden sondern mit Hilfe von Linien in ein Bret eingeritzt. Durch jedes Feld ziehen sich 2 Diagonalen, deren Bedeutung unbekannt bleibt, wenn man nicht zugesehen hat, wie der Bataker sein Brett herstellt. Er macht dies nämlich auf regelrecht mathematischen Wege. Zuerst errichtet er das Quadrat, das die Felder enthalten soll. In diesem zieht er die Diagonalen, worauf in deren Schnittpunkten die beiden Höhen gefällt werden, so dass nun das große Quadrat in 4 gleiche Quadrate geteilt ist. Diese 4 Quadrate teilt er hierauf einzeln auf dieselbe Weise wieder in 4 kleinere. Damit zeigt das Brett schon 16 Quadrate. Die Vierteilung findet nun noch einmal statt, womit die Zahl 64 erreicht ist. Der Symmetrie halber werden die Diagonalen durchgezogen. (Schachbrett = Papan Chator)”.

#### **Translation:**

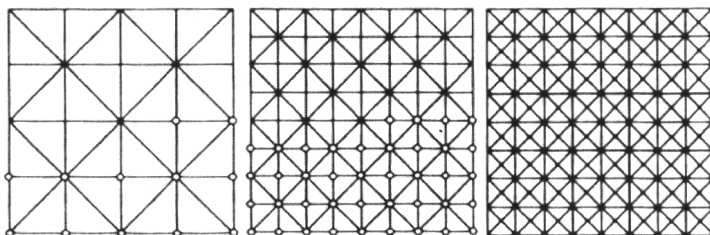
The 64 spaces of the game plan of the Bataks are not coloured, but distinguished by using lines on a board. Through each field they draw two diagonals, of which the significance remains unknown, if you are not watching how the Batak manufactures his board. He does this in fact in a downright mathematical way. First he builds the square that should include the fields. In in he draws the diagonals, which are taken at the intersections of the two heights, so that now the large square has been divided into 4 equal squares. Then he shares these four squares individually on the same way again into 4 smaller ones.

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<sup>104</sup> SCHLIEMANN, H. (1875) Troy, translated by Dr. P. Smith, London

<sup>105</sup> OEFELE, Armin Von (1904). Das Schachspiel der Bataker, p. 17.

In this way the board now shows 16 squares. The fourfold division is now taking place again, bringing the number to 64. For the sake of symmetry the diagonals are drawn. (Checkerboard = Papan Chator).



**4. Standard  
Alquerque-board**

**5. Alquerque  
quadruple-board**

**6. Papan Chator  
(Chaturanga) board**

**Board Phase 4:** suitable for playing the game of Alquerque-12. (The Bataks called this game *Ersêser* or *Si tampullen*).

**Board Phase 5:** for playing alquerque with 40 pieces. (The neighbours of the Bataks, the Achinese, play the tiger game with 40 tigers on this board).

**Board Phase 6:** suitable for playing the Batak chess game and it is almost certainly an alquerque game with probably 72 pieces.

It is extremely remarkable that this last board type is found among the Roman finds of game boards in England<sup>106</sup>. There they found namely a board of this type with 8 squares on one side and 5 squares on the other side (8x5 squares). The

<sup>106</sup> **BUSHE-FOX, J.P.** (1928) Second Report on the Excavation of the Roman Fort at Richborough, Kent, Oxford

**CUNLIFFE, B.** (1968) Excavation of the Roman Fort at Richborough, Kent, V, Oxford. Both studies are cited by Dr. Ulrich Schädler of the Latrunculi game, 1994, pp. 47-67, citation at p. 50

statement of the 8x8 square board as indicated by Murray<sup>107</sup> and Bell is inaccurate according to Schädler<sup>108</sup>. In Sumatra, Malaya, Thailand, and Burma the Chaturanga game still survives. Men play it alongside modern chess, like the old type of games similar to draughts which are played alongside modern draughts.

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<sup>107</sup> **MURRAY, Harold James Rutven** (1952) A History of Board Games Other Than Chess, Oxford, p. 33

**BELL, R.C.** (1979) Board and Table Games From Many Civilizations, New York, Part I, p. 84

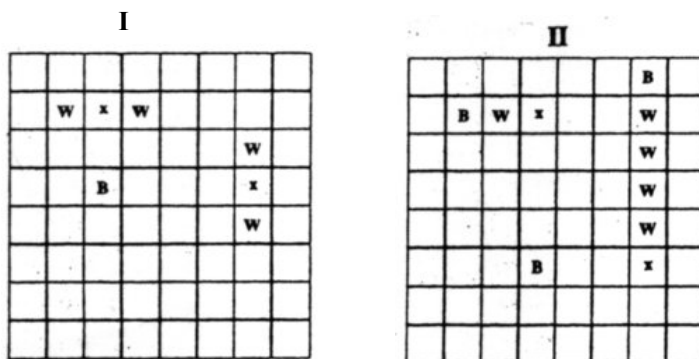
<sup>108</sup> **SCHÄDLER, Ulrich** (1994) Latrunculi - ein verlorenes strategisches Brettspiel der Römer, in: **HOMO LUDENS**, Der Spielende Mensch IV. Internationale Beiträge des Institutes für Spielforschung und Spielpädagogik an der Hochschule Mozarteum Salzburg, Salzburg, pp. 47-67, citation on p. 63



## 4.2.2 Apit Sodok

### APIT SODOK, A ROMAN BOARD GAME?

According Samusah<sup>109</sup>, this Malay game is played as follows:



This game is played on a draughtsboard by 2 players. There are 16 pieces, all of equal value, and these are arranged in 2 rows as in chess. Pieces can be moved backwards, forwards, and sideways (but not diagonally) as many squares as are required, players move the opponent's pieces **sodo**. (moving away). This can be done:

- by **sodo**
- by **apit**.

a. **SODO**. If 2 pieces, say of white, are in the same straight line with an empty place between them, a black can move a piece on to the empty square and remove the white pieces on either side.

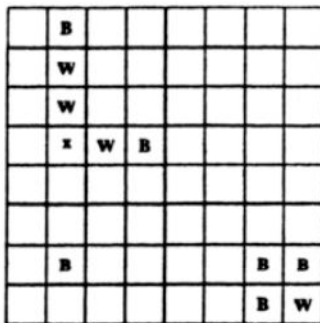
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<sup>109</sup> **SAMUSAH, Raja** (1932). The Malay game of Apit (Peraturan Main "Sodok Apit"); Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. Malay College, Kuala Kangsar, pp. 138-140.

In figure I if B moves to either place marked x, he can remove the 2 white pieces.

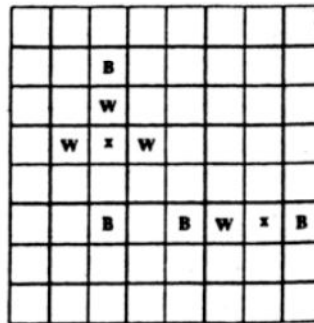
b. **APIT.** If one or more pieces are enclosed by an opponent's pieces, one opponent's piece on either side whether from front and back, or right and left, the piece or pieces can be removed. In figure II and III (1): if B moves his piece to either square marked x, the white piece or pieces can be taken.

III (a)



III (b)

IV (a)



IV (b)

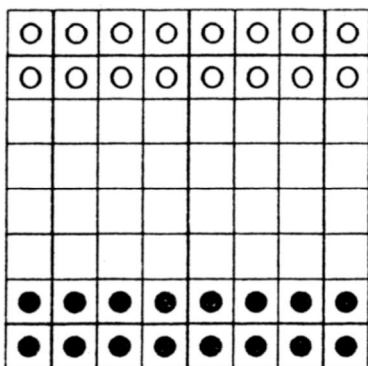
If the pieces are deliberately placed in the position of apit by one side, the other side cannot take it from them until one of the enclosing pieces has been moved. In **IV (b)**: if W. moves to the square marked x, B. cannot remove the pieces until one of the B. enclosing pieces has been moved away and back. Pieces can be removed by sodo and by apit if the arrangement of the enemy's pieces permits as in fig. **IV (a)**. A piece enclosed in a corner as W. in fig. **III (b)** cannot be taken.

Wilkinson<sup>110</sup>, Kool<sup>111</sup>, and Hervey<sup>112</sup> wrote about this game, too.

<sup>110</sup> **WILKINSON, R.J.** (1915). Papers on Malay subjects, Kuala Lumpur, p. 57.

### 4.2.3 Mak-Yaek

In the translation by Mrs. P. Suwannaphoom of the draughts part of the Game Encyclopedia (1950) of Thailand we read the following:



This is a mind game, where, by shifting of the own pieces, one always attempts to create a situation, where the opponent in the side can be attacked, in order to capture per shift the maximum number of pieces.

Draw to begin 64 squares (as in the drawing). Both players use 16 pieces each.

In order to easily distinguish the pieces different colors are used. The pieces on the sides of the players are put on the squares. After each game the colors of the players are changed.

The moves: shift straight across the squares, forward, backward, left or right. Each move may have a length of more than one square. The exact number of squares is not important (but there should not be other pieces on those squares).

**The capture:** There are 3 ways, **saturated capture**, **unsaturated capture**, and **color-changing capture**. This

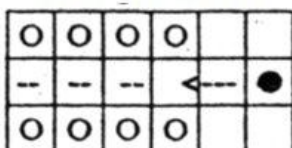
<sup>111</sup> **KOOL, C.H.** (1923). Das Kinderspiel im indischen Archipel, Kempen-Rhein, p. 77.

<sup>112</sup> **HERVEY, D.F.A.** (1933). Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland. Number 33, p. 295.

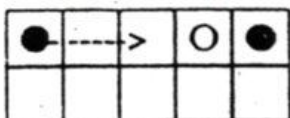
depends on the agreements that the players have made at the beginning of the game.

**Saturated capture** means that during the turn of capture all pieces might be captured that can be captured in a path that the opponent has opened. (in other words, several consecutive captures).

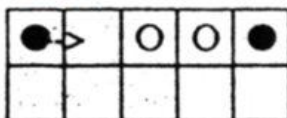
The saturated capture



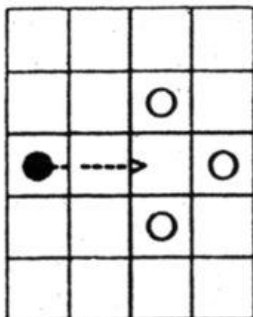
Two pieces flanking one



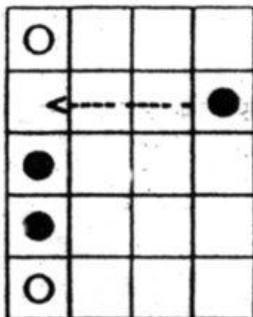
Two pieces flanking two



One move and capture of 3 pieces



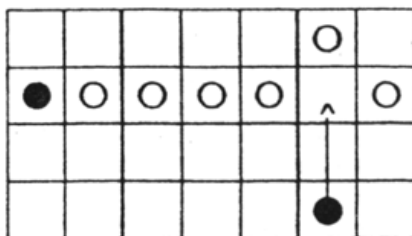
Three pieces displace two



**Unsaturated capture** means that one can capture only one time, and then one has to wait until the enemy has moved a piece before one can make a move again or can effect another capture.

**Color-changing capture** means that if the opponent's pieces are captured, those captured pieces should be replaced by pieces of the player whose turn it is (put the replaced pieces in the place of the old pieces).

#### The manner of capture



Examples: Shift or move the black piece from bottom to top to the square indicated by the arrow. On all 3 sides the white pieces are then captured. The three white pieces, flanked by the black piece are still to be removed. (Consequently the black piece captures 6 white pieces). Low<sup>113</sup> also wrote about this game.

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<sup>113</sup> **LOW, CAPT. J.** (1836) On Siamese Literature, Part II, in Asiatic Researches, XX, p. 382

#### 4.2.4 Gâla

Especially in the period in which the draughts in the Netherlands came under renewed interest the Dutch Bible Society (Nederlandsch Bijbelgenootschap) sent out linguists to the outlying areas of Dutch East Indies to compile dictionaries for the different regions with a view of preparation of Bible translations. Precisely these glossaries focus on draughts. Dr. Benjamin Frederick Matthes in his great dictionaries of Buginese<sup>114</sup> and Makassar<sup>115</sup> gave a very detailed description of a board game form in South Sulawesi.

The Gâla game described therein seems to have affinities with the Roman Ludus Latrunculorum in the way of capturing.

On the other hand the inequality in numbers of pieces of the two parties and the granting of the central place of the board to the party with the least number of pieces points in the direction of a German board game of Roman origin (hnefatafl). Given that the gâla game even provides a proverb in Buginese it is very well conceivable that this game is still played in South Sulawesi and it cannot be excluded that a further report from an eyewitness will be done. Also Eck<sup>116</sup> and again Matthes<sup>117</sup> discussed the gâla game.

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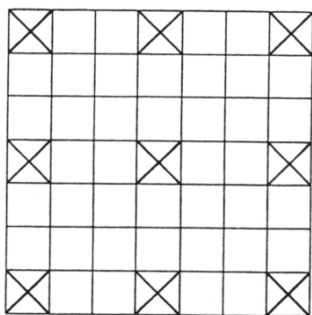
<sup>114</sup> **MATTHES, Benjamin Frederik** (1874) Boegineesch-Hollandsch Woordenboek met Hollandsch-Boeginesche Woordenlijst, Den Haag

<sup>115</sup> **MATTHES, Benjamin Frederik** (1859) Makassaarsch-Hollandsch Woordenboek

<sup>116</sup> **ECK, R. Van** (1881) Schetsen uit het Volksleven in Ned. Oost-Indië, p. 1026

<sup>117</sup> **MATTHES, Benjamin Frederik** (1859b) Ethnographische Atlas, 1859

The Gâla game is played as follows. This game is like checkers or draughts, played by two persons on a board with 49 squares, of which 9 squares have a cross marked (soelângka). There are 4 corner squares (soe) and there is one central square (pôsi). This game uses 10 black and 13 white pieces. The pieces move in a straight line and never move on a crossing or diagonally. Capture also takes place in this game, but in a completely different way from that in draughts.



(Buginese: **rigâla**).

When a piece (**bâtoe**) arrives between two pieces of the other party, or a piece standing on a corner of the board has an enemy piece on both sides, and this happened not because of the primitive setting, but as a result of shifting the pieces, then the piece in question is captured.

On the contrary the piece cannot be taken when it comes between two pieces of the other party's during setup of the pieces. Then at first one is obliged to shift away one of the two pieces and thereafter the piece can move back to the same place. This type of moving away is called **lêse** (= **sôro** = **shifting away**). During setup (Buginese: **dâko** = **taro**) of the pieces the black pieces should start the game by putting one of their pieces on the central square. One initially puts all its pieces on one side of the board and then one moves its pieces to the other side of the board. This is called **mênre**. He who has the black pieces must endeavour to place them on the other half of the board **pôle galâna (bâttie mi-nâi)** in order to win the game. The task of the one who plays with the white pieces is to prevent this (that is called **bîtje**) in order to win the game. **Pôle** is a situation

of the game when somebody is able to set the black pieces in such a way that it is blocking the enemy pieces, whereas he still can move one of its own pieces without giving the enemy the opportunity to capture his black pieces. Four pieces is the least number of pieces with which you get **pôle** and this is then in the corner. When somebody is blocking the enemy with his black pieces in such a way that he cannot move himself without giving the enemy the opportunity to capture his black pieces, this is then called **dôetje**, which is double smart when the enemy is blocking the black pieces (**rilêwo**). People try to avoid in this game the position of his pieces, called **tjâppa-keroe**, because than the enemy can capture them very easily.

Finally I will speak about 2 cases of which one is called **tângkoe**, and the other one **tângkoe-lana**. In the case of **tângkoe** 2 pieces are taken and in the case **tângkoe-Lana** 3 pieces are taken.

This game has a metaphor derived from the following èlong: **Marânnoe pôlegalâna / Nagiling tjâppa-kêroe/Naballêyang tângkoe**. He already rejoices that he will get **gâla** game **pôle** get, i.e. winning the game, but he shifts his pieces in a manner that he creates the figure-**tjâppa keroe**, whereby he gives the enemy advantage and finally he will be outwitted by the figure called **tângkoe-Lana**, so he suddenly loses 3 pieces consecutively and consequently loses all hope of victory. (If someone wants to marry a slave, but is not alert enough and lingers too long, then he will see that his Lord will snatch his beloved slave).

**Mapasiwoêno gâla mabânni**: nocturnal **gâla** fight, night **gâla** play. **Gâla risoêsang**: a glass ornament that one lets pend here and there, a reverse **gâla** piece. **Pagâla**: a **gâla** player. **Nisîkoki galâya**: Buginese **dôetja**: in the **gâla** game this is the name for



when somebody has placed the black pieces in such a manner that the enemy's white pieces are blocked, but at the same time does not have the opportunity to move and consequently he is thus bound.

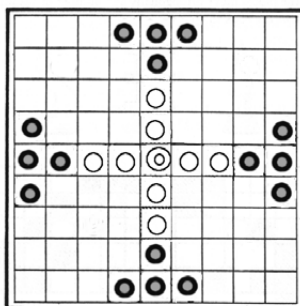
Kaudern<sup>118</sup> describes this as a backgammon game, but Matthes does not speak about dice. The black starts the game first and puts a piece on the central square. The other pieces are placed one by one, each in turn, on one's own half.

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<sup>118</sup> **KAUDERN, W.** (1929) *Ethnographical studies in Celebes*, 's - Gravenhage

## 4.2.5 Tafl - Hnefatafl

The age of this game is estimated by Murray<sup>119</sup> to be from the 1st to 4th century. It occurred in the Nordic countries and it has today been virtually superseded by chess. It was a board game played on a board of 18x18 intersections of a grid with 13x11, 11x11, 9x9, and 7x7 squares. The game is played by two people of whom one has a King on the central square of the board surrounded by a bodyguard of an equal number of uniform symmetrical pieces. The opponent has twice as many uniform pieces, which in four equal formations are distributed uniformly over the central squares along each of the four board edges, as shown in the accompanying drawing.



**Initial position of the game Taflut (Tafl, Hnefatafl)**

All pieces have a common orthogonal movement and only the King may occupy the central square. A piece that cannot free itself from the clamping of two enemy pieces is captured. The same applies to a piece that cannot cancel the clamping between two enemy pieces and the central square. Even in the case when

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<sup>119</sup> **MURRAY, Harold James Rutven** (1952) A History of Board Games Other Than Chess, Oxford, pp. 55-64

the central square is taken by an own King. De King is captured by blocking of 4 enemy attackers or 3 enemy pieces on the edge of the board and by leaving the central square which means loss of the game.

Murray<sup>120</sup> discovered this board game, of which the famous Carl Linnaeus<sup>121</sup> noted down the rules in a travelogue during his stay in Lapland where the game was known under the name of Tablut. Tafl was the older name for this game in Scandinavia that was later called Hnefatafl. It was a game already played by the Scandinavians. The game existed centuries ago in England where an English or Irish manuscript was known about Hnefatafl of the 10th century that had been translated by Robinson<sup>122</sup>. The report of Linnaeus is the last known reference to the living Tablut game. After 1732 the game seems to be extinct everywhere. J.H. Smith<sup>123</sup> translated the diary of Linnaeus's of mixed Swedish and Latin into English in 1811. Bakker gave us the following rules referring to Smith in the *Vacture*<sup>124</sup> magazine.

This writer<sup>125</sup> starts with giving a drawing of the board and another drawing of the three board pieces, saying that figure 1 is

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<sup>120</sup> **MURRAY, Harold James Rutven** (1913) *A History of Chess*. Oxford University Press

**MURRAY, Harold James Rutven** (1952) *A History of Board Games Other Than Chess*, Oxford, pp. 55-64

<sup>121</sup> **LINNAEUS, Carolus** (1732) *Iter Lapponicum*

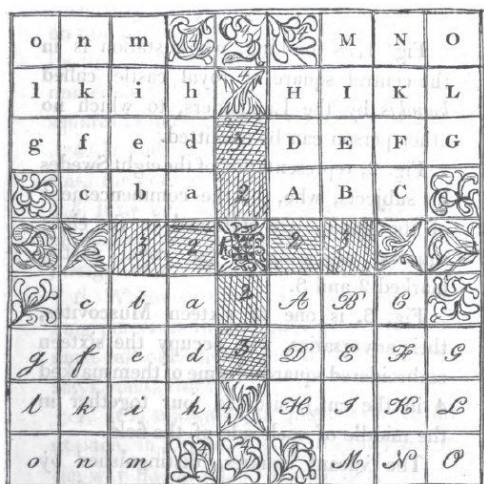
<sup>122</sup> **ROBINSON, J. Armitage** (1923) *Time of St. Dunstan*, Oxford

<sup>123</sup> **LINNÉ, Carl Von & SMITH, Jame Edward** (1811) *Lachesis Lapponica, or A tour in Lapland*. London, Volume II, pp. 55-57

<sup>124</sup> **BAKKER, Gerard** (1980-83) *Het Tablut der Lappen in 1732*. In: *Dammen in den beginne*. Series of 57 episodes in the draughts section of the educative magazine, *De Vacature*, between 1980 and 1983 (Number 17), Deventer

<sup>125</sup> **LINNÉ, Carl Von & SMITH, Jame Edward** (1811) *Lachesis Lapponica, or A Tour in Lapland*. London, Volume II, pp. 55-57

the king, whose station is on the central square or royal castle called konokis by the Laplanders, to which no other person can be admitted. Figure 2 represents one of the eight Swedes - his subjects, who at the commencement of the game are stationed in the eight squares adjoining to the royal castle, marked 2 and 3. Figure 3 is one of sixteen Muscovites, their adversaries, who occupy the sixteen embroidered squares (some of them marked 4 in the cut), situated four together in the middle of each side of the field. The vacant squares, distinguished by letters, may be occupied by any of the pieces in the course of the game.



With respect to the rules of the game Smith goes further stating that:

1. Any piece may move from one square to another in a straight line, as from a to c; but not cornerwise, or from a to e.
2. It is not allowed to pass over the heads of any other pieces that may be in the way, or to move, for instance, from b to m, in case any were stationed at e or i.
3. If the King should stand in b and no other piece in e, l, or m, he may escape by that road, unless one of the Muscovites

immediately gets possession of one of the squares in question so as to interrupt him.

4. If the king is able to accomplish this, the contest is at its end.

5. If the king happens to be in e and none of his own people or enemies are in f, g, i, or m, his exit cannot be prevented.

6. Whenever the person who moves the king perceives that a passage is free, he must call out **raichi**, and if there are two open, **tuichu**.

7. It is allowed to move ever so far at once in a straight line if the squares in the way are vacant, as from c to n.

8. The Swedes and the Muscovites take it in turn to move.

9. If any one man gets between two squares occupied by his enemies, he is killed and taken off, except the king, who is not liable to this misfortune.

10. If the king, being in his own square or castle, is encompassed on three sides by his enemies, one of them standing in each of the three squares numbered 2, he may move away by the fourth. If one of his own people happens to be in this fourth square and one of his enemies in number 3 next to it, the soldier thus enclosed between his king and the enemy is killed. If four of the enemies gain possession of the four squares marked 2, thus enclosing the king, he becomes their prisoner.

11. If the king is in 2 with an enemy on each of the adjoining squares, a, A, and 3, he is taken.

12. Whenever the king is taken or imprisoned, the war is over, and the conqueror seizes all the Swedes, the conquered party resigning all the Muscovites that he had taken.

Some of these rules of Linnaeus continue being confusing. Logically speaking several other authors have written about this board game intending to establish better rules<sup>126</sup>, but probably

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<sup>126</sup> **BELL, R. C.** 1960 Board and Table Games From Many Civilizations. Vol. I. Oxford University Press

the best result was achieved by the independent scholar John C. Ashton, who interpreted the Latin texts<sup>127</sup> in another way. So those who want to know more about how exactly this game was played have to take into account the large study of Ashton.

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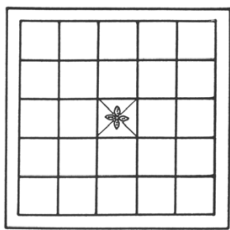
**BELL, R. C.** 1960 Board and Table Games From Many Civilizations. Vol. II. Oxford University Press

**PARLETT, David** 1999 Oxford History of Board Games, Oxford University Press, pp. 200-201

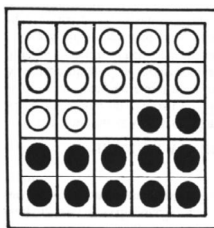
<sup>127</sup> **ASHTON, John C.** (2010) Linnaeus's Game of Tablut and its Relationship to the Ancient Viking Game Hnefatafl. In: The Heroic Age. A Journal of Early Medieval Northwestern Europe. Issue 13 (August 2010)

## 4.2.6 Seega

Lane<sup>128</sup> described the Seega game<sup>129</sup> that was popular among the fellaheen in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Hundred years later, Marin<sup>130</sup> rediscovered the same game (High Jump) played by the Somali, but the capture of the pieces made it through jump. The Seega board is drawn on the ground using sticks, until obtaining a board of 5 x 5 squares. Both players<sup>131</sup> have the same number of dogs (kelb, pl. kilâb). The following rules are from Bell<sup>132</sup>.



Seega



High Jump

As we see in the drawing, this board was used in Spain to play orthogonally the Alquerque-12 game too. Since it is logical to suppose that the game of High Jump of the Somalis is of a later date than the one of the Seega game, it is quite well possible

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<sup>128</sup> LANE, E.W. (1890). Modern Egyptians, Minerva Library, second edition. London.

<sup>129</sup> In the province of Barcelona, players call this game "La Siga".

<sup>130</sup> MARIN, G. (1931). Somali Games, Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, LXI, p. 506.

<sup>131</sup> MURRAY, Harold James Rutven. (1952) A history of Board-games other than chess, Oxford, p. 54.

<sup>132</sup> BELL, R. C. 1960. Board and table games from many civilizations. Vol. I. Oxford University Press, pp. 82-84.

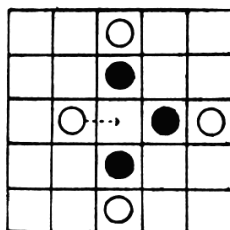
that this way of capture of the Somalis was copied from the Spaniards.

### **The first phase:**

1. The players place two stones at a time on any vacant squares except the centre square which is left uncovered.
2. When the twenty-four stones have been placed, the player placing the last couple in position begins the second phase.

### **The second phase:**

3. A stone can move orthogonally to any adjacent vacant square, including the central one.
4. If a player can trap an enemy stone between two of his own (the custodian capture), he removes it from the board and continues to move the same stone as long as he makes captures with it.



**Capture in Seega**

5. A stone may make more than one capture in a single move. In the figure above of this text the white stone captures three black ones by moving on to the centre square.
6. A player can move a stone between two enemy stones without harm.
7. A stone on the centre square cannot be captured even though it is trapped between two enemy pieces.
8. When a player cannot move, his opponent must make an opening for him by taking an extra turn.



9. The boards may be increased to 7x7 or 9x9 squares, each player then having 24 or 40 pieces.

This game of Seega may have something to do with the Pente grammai that according to Pollux<sup>133</sup> would exist from a board of 5x5 squares with a sacred line. According to Murray<sup>134</sup> Pente grammai is nothing else than the current Pentalpha. Falkener<sup>135</sup> and Parker<sup>136</sup> wrote about this game too.

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<sup>133</sup> **POLLUX, Julius (PÓLUX)** (1608) Julli Pollucis Onomasticon decem libris constans <...> adjecta interpretatio latina Rodolphi Gualtheri <...> studio at que opera Wolfgangi Seberi <...>, Francofurti <...>, 2 partes in 1 vol.

<sup>134</sup> **MURRAY, Harold James Rutven** (1952) A History of Board Games Other Than Chess, Oxford, p. 28

<sup>135</sup> **FALKENER, Edward** (1892) Games Ancient & Oriental and How to Play Them. London, pp. 63-67

<sup>136</sup> **PARKER, H.** (1909) Ancient Ceylon, London, pp. 603-604

## 5 THE LATIN TERMS

When an old game is changing to a new one, we expect to immediately see another word for the new game. However, as we will see, this is not always the case. For some years people continue using the name of the old game for the new one and suddenly they realize that the new game is different and that consequently there should be another name for the new one, since the way of playing is not the same as was that of the old game. Since draughts is nothing else than a continuation of Alquerque-12, but now played on a checkered board and with a piece called dama – or king in other countries – there was in the beginning a lot of confusion among historians about the name of draughts and jeu de dames. In this context of gradual transitions we see that the new games did not immediately receive new names, which led to a lot of confusion when describing old games for which documentary proofs are not at hand. So it is quite well possible that games like draughts and marro de punta, originally played on linesboard and thereafter with the introduction of the chessboard and long dama, maintained the name of draughts and marro de punta for some years. In the case of draughts (= network) we still see this name and marro de punta changed to the Spanish name of Juego de las damas.

Since we see different strong pieces, such as dama and king, in the new game of draughts on the checkered board, it is logical to think that in the precursor of draughts – the Alquerque-12 line game – there was also a stronger piece than the pawn in the game.

What was the Latin literature with a view of the draughts game in Europe? In this sense we observe the term “Duodecim Scruporum” or “Scruporum Duodecim” in the European

countries, different from Spain where another term “Ludus Calculorum” was used at an earlier date. So I will amply describe these two terms. We will quickly see that the other countries did not follow Spain with its term of “Ludus Calculorum”, but that they thought that the right Latin term for the draughts game was “Duodecim Scruporum” or “Scruporum Duodecim”. In this sense we will see that the Latin term “Ludus Calculorum” was used at the beginning of the 16th century for Alquerque-12 and Andarraya<sup>137</sup> in Spain and that after this period this Latin term was used for the draughts game on a checkered board.

The 15th and 16th century is important for us as that was when Alquerque-12 was changed in Spain to andarraya and draughts respectively.

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<sup>137</sup> Tesoro Lexicográfico 1492-1726, Madrid 1947 (S.G. Gaya) (Gaya, 1947)

**Andarraya**

*Nebrya* 1492: andaraya, espèce de jeu de dames. calculorum ludus(Nebrija,1492)

*Palet* 1604: andaraia, ieu de damier (Palet, 1604)

*Oudin* 1607: andaraia, une sorte de ieu d’eschets, et selon aucuns le ieu du damier (Oudin, 1607)

*Minsheu* 1617: andaraia o andaraja. Une sorte de jeu d’eschets ou damier; sorte di gioco di scacchi o di tavole; jocus quidam in lusu latrunculorum; a kinde of play at chests or draughts. (Minsheu, 1617)

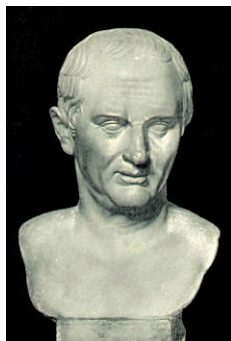
*Franciosi* 1620: andaraia, giuco de scacchi (Franciosini, 1620)

*Stevens* 1720: andaraya, a sorte of game like draughts. (Stevens, 1706)

## **5.1 Ludo Duodecim Scruporum**

### **5.1.1 Marcus Tullius Cicero**

Marcus Tullius Cicero (106 BC – 43 BC) was born in 106 BC in Arpinum, a hill town 100 kilometers (62 miles) southeast of Rome. He was a Roman philosopher, statesman, lawyer, and political theorist. According to Plutarch, Cicero was an extremely talented student whose learning attracted attention from all over Rome, affording him the opportunity to study Roman law under Quintus Mucius Scaevola, a statesman and leader of the senate. His opposition to Mark Antony was finally the cause of his death.



**Marble Bust of Marcus Tullius Cicero**

Widely considered as one of Rome's greatest orators and prose stylists, Cicero was a gifted and energetic writer with an interest in a wide variety of subjects in keeping with the Hellenistic philosophical and rhetorical traditions in which he was trained. Two years before his death he wrote a work on the philosophy called *Hortensius*. The dialog is named after Cicero's friend, the speaker and politician Quintus Hortensius Hortalus. In this work

he mentions a game with 12 pieces which is called “duodecim scrupis”:

Itaque tibi concedo, quod in duodecim scrupis olim, ut calculum reducas, si te alicuius dati poeniteat.

Translation:

I allow you, as we usually do in the game with 12 stones, that you can put the stone back if you do regret your move.

### 5.1.2 Marco Fabio Quintilianus

Marco Fabio Quintilianus (42-120?) was a famous Spanish writer of the Roman era, born in Calagurris (Calahorra, Logroño) around the year 42 and deceased between years 95 and 120 of our era. He wrote *The Institutione Oratorios*, a very important work that alone was to make him immortal. It consists of 12 books. The books VIII and IX deal with the phraseology.



Book X deals with practices of composition, literature, and imitation, while it provides a critical reflection on the main Greek and Roman authors where they are useful for the speaker and they form a historical summary of the literature. Book XI covers mainly memory, pronunciation, gestures, and the action, and detects pointed observations with a view of the aesthetics of the speech.

**Marco Fabio Quintilianus (Calahorra)**

In 1417 Poggio found by accident the first complete manuscript of the work *The Institutione Oratorios* in the convent of San Gall when he was attending the Council of Constanta. We owe the first edition to Philip Lignamine (Rome, 1470). Then came Jansen (Venice) 1481), Aldo (Venice, 1514), and Lerevelio Gronovius (Leiden, 1665)<sup>138</sup>. Nebrija<sup>139</sup> wrote about this author and Caro<sup>140</sup> quotes him as follows:

**De institutione oratoria, lib. XI, 2.38**

At vero Scaevola in ludo duodecim scruporum, cum prior calculum promovisset essetque victus, dum rus tendit, repetito totius certaminis ordine, quo dato errasset recordatus, rediit ad eum, quicum luserat, isque ita factum esse confessus est.

**Translation:**

We are told that Scaevola, after a game of **Latrunculus** in which he had made the first move and was defeated, went over the whole game again in his mind on his way to the country, and on recalling the move which had cost him the game returned to tell the man with whom he had been playing, and the latter acknowledged that he was right.

Pietro Carrera refers to a part of the abovementioned text<sup>141</sup>:

Quintiliano nel lib. 10 nel cap. 2: "An vero Scevola in lusu duodecim scruporum cum prior calculum promovisset".

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<sup>138</sup> **Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada** (1922) Volume 48, p. 1393

<sup>139</sup> **NEBRIJA, Antonio de** (1529) *De artis rhetoricae compendiosa coaptatione ex Aristotele, Cicerone et Quintiliano*, Madrid

<sup>140</sup> **CARO, Rodrigo** (1624) *Días geniales o lúdricos*, Manuscript. Editie van Jean-Pierre Etievre, Espasa-Calpe S.A., Madrid 1978. 2 Volumes.

<sup>141</sup> **CARRERA, Pietro** (1617) *Il Gioco de gli Scacchi, millitello* (Sicilia)

### **5.1.3 Desiderius Erasmus Rotterdamus**

Desiderius Erasmus Roterodamus (1466-1536), known as Erasmus of Rotterdam, was a Dutch Renaissance humanist, Catholic priest, and theologian.



**Desiderius Erasmus**

Erasmus was a classical scholar who wrote in a pure Latin style and enjoyed the sobriquet "Prince of the Humanists." He has been called "the crowning glory of the Christian humanists. Erasmus preferred to live the life of an independent scholar and made a conscious effort to avoid any actions or formal ties that might inhibit his freedom of intellect and literary expression. Throughout his life he was offered many positions of honour and profit throughout the academic world, but declined them all, preferring the uncertain but sufficient rewards of independent literary activity. Erasmus wrote both on ecclesiastic subjects and those of general human interest. He seems to have regarded the latter as trifling, a leisure activity. By the 1530s the writings of Erasmus accounted for 10 to 20 percent of all book sales. He is credited with coining the adage "in the land of the blind the one-eyed man is king". By collaboration with Publio Fausto

Andrelini he formed a collection of Latin proverbs and adages commonly called *Adagia*. In 1500 Erasmus<sup>142</sup> wrote the following about “Duodecim Scruporum”:

**Calculvm redvcere. Apponere calculvm.**

Mirum ni prouerbialis est metaphora, qua Cicero vsus est in Hortensio, Nonio teste: *Itaque tibi concedo quod in duodecim scrupis olim, vt calculum reducas, si te alicuius dati poeniteat*. Translatum apparet aut a ratiocinantibus aut certe a latrunculario lusu. Est igitur 'calculum reducere' reuocare, si quid imprudentius concesseris, mutareque factum, cuius te poeniteat. Id propemodum exponens Politianus *Quoniam*, inquit, *moti semel poeniteret, concedi sibi postulare, vt calculum reduceret*. Prouerbii simillimum est et hoc: Apponere calculum, pro eo quod accessionem adiungere, a ratiocinantibus deductum, vt 'Etsi iam olim amas plurimum, tamen et hunc calculum ex mea commendatione velim accedere'. Et albus calculus pro studio et fauore apud Plinium Cecilius.

**Loose Translation**

Astonishing, unless it is a proverbial metaphor used by Cicero in *Hortensius*, according to Nonius: *therefore I grant what formerly in twelve scrupis (worries in the game of the twelve pieces), that you may retire your piece if you regret some move*. It seems translated either by calculating people (businessmen?) or certainly by game of pieces. Therefore "to retire a piece" is to recall it if you recognize something imprudent, to change what is done of which you repent. Approximately Politianus explains this saying, *Because once regretting the move, he asked permission to retire the piece*. Very similar is this proverb: To add a piece, meaning to join an action, deduced by calculators, so that "Although you already bet much, nevertheless I would like you to add this piece on my recommendation". And white piece means affection and favour in Plinius Caecilius<sup>143</sup>.

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<sup>142</sup> **ERASMUS ROTERODAMUS, Desiderius** (1500). *Collectanea Adagiorum*, Paris

<sup>143</sup> With thanks to Prof. Ángel Alcalá for the translation



### **5.1.4 Gerolamo Cardano**

Gerolamo (or Girolamo, or Geronimo) Cardano (French: Jérôme Cardan; Latin: Hieronymus Cardanus – 1501-1576) was an Italian Renaissance mathematician, physician, astrologer, and gambler. His gambling led him to formulate elementary rules in probability, making him one of the founders of the field. He was born in Pavia, Lombardy, the illegitimate child of Fazio Cardano, a mathematically gifted lawyer, who was a friend of Leonardo da Vinci.



**Gerolamo Cardano**

In 1520 he entered the University of Pavia and later studied medicine in Padua. His eccentric and confrontational style did not earn him many friends and he had a difficult time finding work after his studies ended. In 1525 Cardano repeatedly applied to the College of Physicians in Milan, but was not admitted owing to his combative reputation and illegitimate birth. Eventually he managed to develop a considerable

reputation as a physician and his services were highly valued in the courts. He was the first to describe typhoid fever. Cardano was notoriously short of money and kept himself solvent by being an accomplished gambler and chess player. His book about games of chance *Liber de ludo aleae* ("Book on Games of Chance") written in 1526 but not published until 1663 contains the first systematic treatment of probability, as well as a section on effective cheating methods<sup>144</sup>. Cardano was probably the first scholar to expound intelligently on the theory of probability and do so about one century prior to Pascal and Fermat who are conceded to have laid the first foundations of the science of probability. Precisely in this book Cardano refers to Duodecim scruporum when he describes the Totae Tabulae. Prof. Ore Oystein in his book *The Gambling Scholar*<sup>145</sup> gives us the English translation.

...videtur Quintilianus quoque, vt idem Calcagnius recitat dixisse: quo dato errasset recordatus rediit ad eum qui cum luserat; sed cum loquatur de lusu duodecim scruporum videtur Datum ad ludum transtulisse quidem, non tamen ad Aleam.

Translation:

...Quintiliaan seems also, as that same Calcagninus avers, to have said, "remembering with what dice he had gone wrong he returned to the one with which he had played"; but when he speaks about a game of twelve scrupi, he seems to have related the word *datus* to a game, but not to a game with dice.

We see that Cardano refers to the work of Calcagninus and to a mind game without dice.

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<sup>144</sup> **CARDANO Gerolamo** (1526) *Liber de Ludo Aleae*

<sup>145</sup> **OYSTEIN, Ore** (1953) *The Gambling Scholar*. University Press, Princeton, NJ

### 5.1.5 Ulisses Aldrovandi

Ulisses Aldrovandi (1522-1605) was a famous natural scientist, philosopher, and doctor. He descended from a prominent and wealthy family and was educated in Bologna and Padua. In 1549 after completing his studies he was imprisoned on suspicion of lutheranism. He only got his freedom back after the death of Pope Paulo III. Then he traveled throughout Europe. He was appointed lecturer in the Study Chamber of Bologna when he devoted himself to teaching, which he alternated with many journeys.

He wrote a manuscript, according to Dr. Chicco<sup>146</sup> in 1556, about the games titled 'De ludis tum publicis tum privatis methodus tum'. Hereafter I continue with my English translation of Dr. Chico's Italian text that was given by Dr. Pratesi<sup>147</sup>.



**Ulisses Aldrovandi (1522-1605)**

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<sup>146</sup> **CHICCO, Adriano.** (1978) *Arci - Dama - Scacchi – Italië*, p. 10

<sup>147</sup> **PRATESI, Franco** (1987) *Draughts Magazine Het Nieuwe Damspel*, Utrecht, pp. 40-41

Almost contemporary is the citation of the draughts game contained in a manuscript of the great naturalist Ulisse Aldrovandi, which remained unpublished, preserved in the University Library of Bologna (Miscellaneous A 21), and is entitled "De Ludis tum publicis tum privatis Methodus". Registered with separate numbers and index after the letter 825, the Methodus from page 20 to 25 contains a discussion of the draughts game that has been completely ignored by scholars of this game despite being the oldest Italian text that contains the rules of draughts in Italy. Aldrovandi had the first idea of this paper since 1556, as evidenced by a series of notes (-De Ludo-) stored in other Miscellaneous A 64 of the same library, dated December 15, 1556: the next and more extensive preparation is then fixed after this date. Aldrovandi titled the chapter on draughts 'Scruporum duodecim ludus fabis', but also gives the Italian name for draughts 'gioco di Dama' and adds the Belgian (German?) name 'Damen' and the French name 'jeu aux Dames'.

The curious name of fabae (broad bean) results from the fact that Aldrovandi, a good naturalist, considered that these beans were used as pawns, replacing the small stones or discs. He details the arrangement of checkers which can either be placed in all black squares or in all white squares, all of them in the first three rows of the opposing sides; he describes the movement and how to capture, warning that it is necessary to capture to the square behind the opponent when it is not occupied by a "custos"; he remembers that if a pawn reaches the last rank, it becomes a Dama: then it can be marked by two beans, or if playing with discs, two superimposed discs.

La Dama (King in other countries) enjoys various privileges, because it can go back and cannot be captured by an isolated pawn, and if it is attacked simultaneously by two pawns and has no square behind the "Custodes", one of the two pawns can capture it. This deviation from the current rules probably originated from some reminiscence of the rules in force in northern European countries, which admitted the capture of the King by the pawn.

Maybe with the name of the game 'Scruporum duodecim ludus fabis', in which figures the term 'fabis' Aldrovandi had in mind Marcus Fabius Quintilianus, because this author was also called

*Marcus Fabius Quintilianus*. The text refers to the Latin author Marco Fabio Quintilian of Spanish origin. Since this author's work was written in 1567, it seems plausible to assume that Aldrovandi's work was actually written in the late 16th century, as Dr. Pratesi<sup>148</sup> cites, and various aspects of literature were based on an earlier work<sup>149</sup>.

### 5.1.6 Adrianus Iunius

The real name of Adrianus Iunius (1511-1575) was Adrian de Jonghe. He was born in Hoorn (Holland) in 1511 and died in Arnemuiden in 1575. He graduated as medical doctor in Bologna and traveled through many countries, such as France, England, and Denmark. Since 1565 he was a physician employed by the municipality and Rector of the Latin School in Haarlem.



His nickname was Second Erasmus. Hereunder follow some of the translations in his dictionaries.

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<sup>148</sup> **PRATESI, Franco** (1987) *Draughts Magazine Het Nieuwe Damspel*, Utrecht, pp. 40-41

<sup>149</sup> **GARZONI** (1585) *La piazza universale*. Italië

Year: 1567

Scruporum duodecim lusus, **Fabio**<sup>150</sup>

B. Damen

G. Le ieu aux dames

I. Frisius Germanis dicit, der Zwolfstein<sup>151</sup>

Fabio means here Fabius Quintilianus, as discussed earlier.

Year: 1585

Scruporum duodecim lusus, **Fabio**<sup>152</sup>

(greco) schyraphia, Polluci

le ieu aux dames

the game of draughts or dames: some take it for play at chests.

Year: 1586

Scruporum duodecim lusus, **Fabio**<sup>153</sup>

Iohannes Frisius Germanis dici ait of zwolfstein

hra hnewnij dwanacti kameny ka (the furious game with 12 stones)

As was happening in the new chess game, people considered playing with a dama in the new draughts game as a furious game.

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<sup>150</sup> **JUNIUS, Hadrianus** (1567) Nomenclator, Anveres

<sup>151</sup> **FRISIUS, Ioannes** (1541) Dictionarium Latino Germanicum par Petrus Choloinum et Ioannem Frisium Helvetios, Iguri

**FRISIUS, Ioannes** (1556) Dictionariolum Puerorum Germanicolatinum

<sup>152</sup> **FRISIUS, Ioannes** (1585) The nomenclator or remembrancer of Adrianus Junius Physician, divided in 2 tomes, containing proper names and art termes for all things under their convenient titles, which within a few leaves do follow, London

<sup>153</sup> **JUNIUS, Hadrianus** (1586) Nomenclator Omnium rerum propria nomina tribus, Latina, Boiémica et Germanica explicata continens, Medico excerptus, et pro usu scholarum Boiemicarum. editus Pragae.

**JANSEN, Rob** (1995). Draughts Magazine *Hoofdlijn*, Amsterdam, Number 44, pp. 49-50

### 5.1.7 Cornelis Kilianus

Cornelis Kiliaan or Kilianus (ca. 1529 – 1607) was a Southern Dutch linguist and poet. In 1548 Kilianus went to the University of Leuven to study Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and law. After his studies he started in the newly established printing house of Christopher Plantin, which was to become the largest printing company in Europe at the time. He marched through the professional ranks of his master's sophisticated Antwerp workshop from trainee to expert and master, both correcting and editing, whilst seeing new editions through the presses. Kilianus never left Christoffel Plantijn.



**Cornelis Kilianus**

Innocent of academic lore, Kiliaan became a linguist and lexicographer. His magnum opus *Dictionarium Teutonico-latinum* (1574; reprinted and expanded in 1588 and

1599) remained an asset for scholars hailing from regions where Germanic languages were spoken for centuries to come. Kiliaan may be the first individual wishing to make a complete inventory of the vocabulary he used himself daily; the product of his toil is the mother of all Dutch dictionaries. In the enlarged second edition of his *Dictionarium Teutonico-latinum* (1588) Kiliaan developed his scientific language study even further with the help of many great new sources, including many humanistic, encyclopaedic, or historical works written in Latin. This time he offered many more etymological explanations of words and also lists alongside German and French, the equivalents of Dutch keywords in English, Saxon, Spanish, Italian, Greek, and Hebrew.

#### **Kilianus, 1588 Dictionarium Teutonico-latinum**

Dam/dammeler	<b>Lapis, scrupus, sive globus dyada valens in lusu.</b> (Stone of double disc, full force in the game)
Steck oft schijve daer men mede speelt int berd.	<b>Scrupus</b> (Pawn or disc to use in the board game)

#### **APPENDIX (Words not adapted to Flamengo and coming originally from Latin, French, Italian, Spanish, or other foreign origin)**

Dame/damme	<b>Domina, hera</b>
Dame/damsteck	<b>Scrupulus, calculus</b>
Damen/dammen	<b>Ludere scrupis duodecim Vulgo ludere ad dominas</b>
Dame-spel/dam-spel	<b>Lusus duodecim scruporum</b>



The humanists of the Renaissance in Europe (not in Spain) tried to bring back the then current games to the classical authors. Thus in the 16th century the checkers, which was hidden under the Latin name ‘Scruporum duodecim lusus’ was confused with ‘ludo duodecim Scruporum’ described by Marco Fabio Quintilian in the year 65. However, the game cited by him and played by Scaevola seems to have been backgammon.

In all probability both Aldrovandi<sup>154</sup> and Hadrian Junius<sup>155</sup> wanted to refer to Fabius Marco Quintilianus with the words "fabis" and “Fabio”. This writer's literature became available only in 1417, so that when ‘ludo duodecim Scruporum’ really would have been a draughts game, this Latin term could never be used in the 14th century.

### 5.1.8 Pedro Pantoja de Ayala

When speaking about the sacred line we immediately have to think of the jurisconsult and poet Doctor Pedro Pantoja de Ayala, born in 1589 in Toledo<sup>156</sup> and died in 1625. He studied with Alphonso Guillen de la Carrera and other experts in law acquiring good knowledge of the classic literature. He was judge at the Court of Sevilla and hearer<sup>157</sup> in Sevilla still in 1635. On the other hand he also was adviser to his Majesty and

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<sup>154</sup> **ALDROVANDI, Ulisse** (1585?). *Manuscripto. De Ludis tum publicis tum privatis methodus*. (This work is in the library of the university of Bologna).

<sup>155</sup> **JUNIUS, Hadriamis** (1567). *Nomenclator*, Anveres.

<sup>156</sup> **MADROÑAL DURÁN, Abraham & MEDINILLA, Baltasar Elisio** (1999) Baltasar Elisio de Medinilla y la poesía toledana de principios del siglo XVII, p. 73

<sup>157</sup> **PÉREZ BAYER, Francisco; MESTRE, Antonio, IRLES VICENTE, María del Carmen** (1991) Por la libertad de la literatura española, p. 267

mayor of the R.I. Audiencia (Real Audience) at Sevilla in 1633<sup>158</sup>. Pedro Pantoja de Ayala [Aldrete] was one of the sources for the game book of Rodrigo Caro<sup>159</sup>. His book was a legal work written in Latin about the games of at least 272 pages. Dr. Franco Pratesi<sup>160</sup> has extensive studies of the work of Pantoja de Ayala thanks to the works of Clodius<sup>161</sup> and Otto<sup>162</sup>.

Pantoja de Ayala discusses on his way the draughts game<sup>163</sup>, because the text he gives is rather confusing due to the manner of capturing. Maybe it had to do with the game that Ficoroni was describing about Celio Calcagninus.

Hic ludus adhuc apud nos viget, et vocamus eum *de las Damas*: cum duo oppositi unusquisque duodecim calculis, albis aut nigris, quasi in bello adversarium aggreditur, et in medio diversi coloris deprehensum, captivum ducit, et devorat; qui autem in línea media est positus, quam *calle de en medio* nominamus, per eam currit, et recurrit tamquam in asylo securus.

#### Translation:

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<sup>158</sup> **MONTECINOS, José F.** (1922) Dos cartas inéditas de Lope de Vega. In: Revista de Filología Española. Vol. IX, pp. 323-326

<sup>159</sup> **CARO, Rodrigo** (1624) Días geniales o lúdricos, Manuscript. Edition of Jean-Pierre Etievre, Espasa-Calpe S.A., Madrid 1978. 2 volumes

<sup>160</sup> **PRATESI, Franco** (1995) Draughts Magazine *Hoofddlijn*, Amsterdam, number 40, pp. 8-9

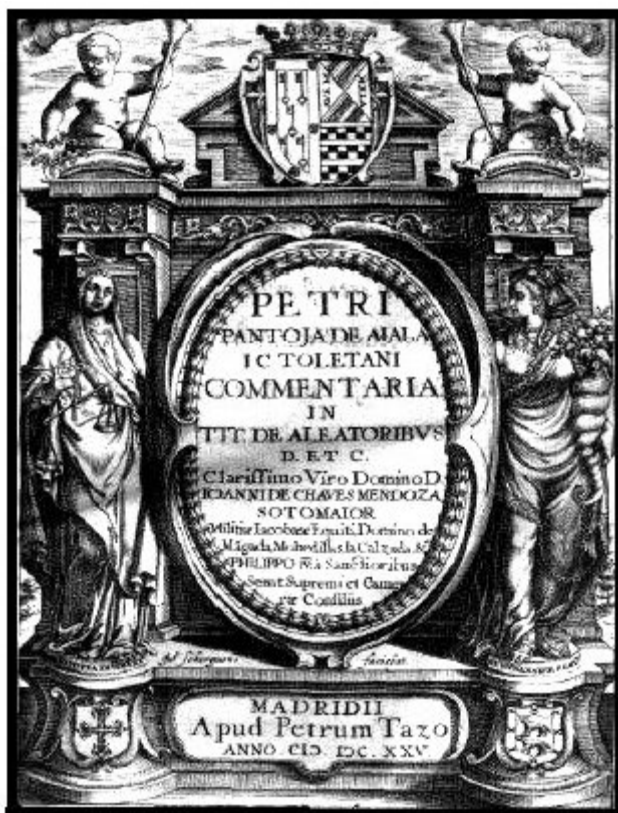
<sup>161</sup> **CLODII, Henrici Ionath** (1761) Primae Linæ Bibliothecae Lusoriae Sive noticia scriptorum de ludis. Lipsiae

<sup>162</sup> **OTTO, Everard** (1733) Thesaurus juris Romani, volume 4, printed by J. Broedelet, Utrecht.

**OTTO, Everard** (1744). Thesaurus juris Romani, printed by Brandmüller, Basel

<sup>163</sup> **PANTOJA DE AYALA, Pedro** (1625) Commentaria in Titulum de Aleatoribus, Digestis et Codice, seu de Ludorum universa antiquitate, Madrid. (Manuscript 84-I-17 Bibliotheca Colombina - Sevilla), p. 123r

This game is still played by us and we call it *de las Damas*. When two players have each 12 pieces, white or black, and attack the enemy like in a war, and a piece is between two pieces of another colour, then this piece is captured and taken away. However, a piece that on the contrary is placed on the middle line, i.e. on the so-called *calle de en medio*, can go back and forth between the enemy pieces and then it is secure as if it were in a hiding place.



**Treatise of Games of Pedro Pantoja de Ayala**

Pedro Pantoja de Ayala refers to the book of Pedro Ruiz Montero<sup>164</sup>, on which the information he had obtained from his friend Thomas de Tamayo de Vargas. However in the book of Ruiz Montero the capturing is the same as in Alquerque 12, thus leaping and Pantoja de Ayala speaks about “surrounding” the piece for capturing. Pratesi thinks that this way of capturing has to do with the “old manner”. However, if the piece is on the middle or sacred line, it cannot be captured. So here I am thinking of the two corporals that each player had in the case of Celio Calcagninus.

Strangely enough, Pantoja de Ayala used the exact name of this line “calle de en medio” in modern draughts. In such case the Dama can quietly resist the attack of 2 or 3 pieces without being captured and one can say that the Dama is in a secure and hiding place.

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<sup>164</sup> **RUIZ MONTERO, Pedro** (1591) Libro del Juego de las Damas, vulgarmente nombrado el marro, Valencia

### Duodecim scrupis

Latin	Author	Translation
Duodecim scrupis	Marcus Tullius Cicero	
ludo duodecim scruporum	Marco Fabius Quintilianus	1417
duodecim scrupis	Desiderius Erasmus	1500
lusu duodecim Scruporum	Gerolamo Cardano	1526
Ludus duodecim scruporum,	Theophilo Golio	Der Zwölfte stein 1529
Scruporum duodecim ludus fabis	Ulisses Aldrovandi	1556 Draughts Capture dama by two pawns
Scruporum duodecim lusus, Fabio	Hadrianus Iunius	Le ieu aux dames (Draughts) 1567
Lusus duodecim Scruporum	Cornelius Kilianus	Damspel (Draughts) 1588
Duodecim calculis	Pantoja de Ayala	1624
Duodecim scrupis	Bartolomé Bravo	Juego del Marro 1628

## **5.2 Ludus Calculorum**

The Latin term for draughts, thus for the new Andarraya game with the use of the new Dama in 1495 according to Antonio Nebrija, was *calculorum ludus*. This term ‘*Ludus Calculorum*’ was used both for *Alquerque* and *Andarraya*. Thus according to Nebrija in his Latin dictionary of 1495 *Andarraya* became a new game. So the question now is what exactly do we know about *Ludus Calculorum*.

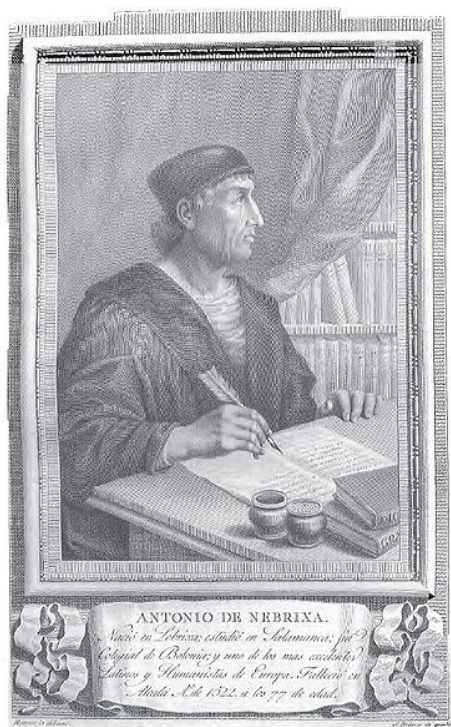
### **5.2.1 Antonio de Nebrija**

Antonio de Nebrija (1444-1522) was born in Lebrija (the Latin name is *Nebrissa*), Seville, and died in Alcalá de Henares in 1522. He was known as Antonio de Nebrija, Elio Antonio de Lebrija, *Antonius Nebrissensis*, and Antonio of Lebrixa. After studying in Salamanca he resided for ten years in Italy, and completed his education at Bologna University. On his return to Spain (1473) he devoted himself to the advancement of classical learning among his fellow countrymen.

After obtaining professorship of poetry and grammar at Salamanca he was transferred to the University of Alcalá de Henares. He was a famous Spanish scholar known for writing the grammar of the Castilian language, credited as one of the first published grammars of a Romance language. He is the author of an impressive body of scientific work which comprises a broad spectrum of humanistic knowledge. While the languages dealt with by Nebrija include Latin, Spanish, and

the most prominent Romance languages, his grammatical work focuses on Latin, Castillian, Greek, and even Hebrew.

Nebrija sought to standardize and regularize the Spanish language and spelling, frequently under the patronage of Queen Isabella.



He published the first reliable Latin grammar in Spain, *Introductiones latine* (1481), which he later translated into Spanish. Other works include *Interpretatio dictionum ex sermone latino in hispaniensem*<sup>165</sup>, and the first scientific

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<sup>165</sup> **NEBRIJA, Antonio de** (1492). *Dictionarium latino-hispanum*, Salamanca.

grammar of any European vernacular language, *Gramática sobre la lengua castellana*<sup>166</sup>. Later *Latin-Spanish*<sup>167</sup> and *Spanish-Latin* dictionaries<sup>168</sup>.

### **Dictionarium hispano-latinum**

In his famous Spanish – Latin dictionary we see the following:

Alquerque	Calculorum ludus
Andarraia	Calculorum ludus <b>NOVUM</b>
Dama es casi señora	Domina-ae <b>NOVUM</b>
Trecho o trocha	Tractus. us
Juego de Axedrez	Calculorum ludus
Trebejo de axedrez	Calculus calculi

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<sup>166</sup> **NEBRIJA, Elio Antonio de** (1492b). *Gramática de la lengua Castellana*.

<sup>167</sup> **NEBRIJA, Antonio de** (1492). *Vocabulario español latin*, Salamanca 1492 - reprint 1979

<sup>168</sup> **NEBRIJA, Antonio de** (1495) *Dictionarium hispano-latinum*, Salamanca. (reprint in 1951 by the Real Academia Española. *Diccionario Romance* (Spanish) to latin. We know editions of this book of the years: 1492 Salamanca, 1494? Evora; 1503 Sevilla; 1506 Paris and 1513 in Madrid.



### 5.2.2 Juan Luis Vives

Juan Luis Vives was born in Valencia in 1493 and died in Brugge [now Belgium] in 1540. He was a Spanish humanist and student of Erasmus, eminent in education, philosophy, and psychology, who strongly opposed scholasticism and emphasized induction as a method of inquiry. Vives left Spain at the age of 17 to avoid the Inquisition.



After studies in Paris (1509–1512) Vives also came into contact with the Parisian humanist circle. In 1514 Vives left Paris without having taken any formal academic degree and moved to

the Low Countries. He settled in Bruges where he would spend most of his life. He was never to return to Spain. He attended lectures at the university of Louvain in 1514 and was appointed professor of the humanities and qualified as lecturer in 1520. He married Margaret Valdaura of Bruges in 1524. Over the years Vives left Bruges intermittently. Especially significant is the period between 1523 and 1528 when he lectured at Oxford University (Corpus Christi College) and met, or continued earlier friendships with, Thomas More, John Fisher, and Thomas Linacre, and was highly regarded by Henry VIII and his queen Catherine of Aragon. On intimate terms with the greatest humanists of his day, including Erasmus and Budé, Vives was not only a master of classical Latin literature (he apparently cared much less for the Greek classics), but also wrote on religion, education, rhetoric, philosophy, methodology, science. The last twelve years of Vives' life were his most productive, and it was in this period that he published several of the works for which he is best known today. He wrote many books and one of them, the *Exercitatio linguae Latinae sive Colloquia*, shows an Alquerque-12 board. The text was the following:

#### **VI. Reditus Domum, et lusus Pueriles**

**Corneliola:** Ludi huius iam taedet, ludamus calculis discoloribus<sup>169</sup>

**Tulliolus:** Pinge tu nobis urbes in hoc latere, carbone aut gypso.

Translation:

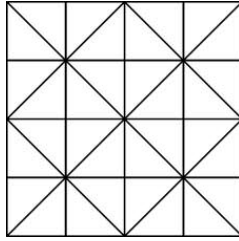
**Corneliola:** I'm tired of this game, let us play with stones of two colors.

That calculus discoloribus, will it not be alquerque?

**Tulliolus:** Paint your squares on this side with coal or plaster.

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<sup>169</sup> **VIVES, Iohannes Lodovicus** (1538) *Exercitatio linguae Latinae sive Colloquia*. Bruge. - Opera Omnia, 1, Valencia 1782



**Drawing of the Alquerque-12 in the book of 1538**

So we see that the Spaniard Juan Luis Vives is using the term ‘Calculus’ for Alquerque-12.

Quite interesting is to see the development of this famous book in other countries:

**1555, with Spanish text<sup>170</sup> and an Alquerque-12 board we see:**

Este juego ya me enfada, (....)  
juguemos al alquerque

**1573, with a French text<sup>171</sup> and an Alquerque-12 board we see:**

Ce ieu commence à m’ennuyer,  
(....) iouons aux dames

**1582, with German text<sup>172</sup> and an Alquerque-12 board we see:**

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<sup>170</sup> **VIVES, Juan Luis** (1555) *Exertation linguae*, Basel

<sup>171</sup> **JAMIN, Benjamin** (1573) *Les Dialogues de Ian Loy Vives*, Paris

<sup>172</sup> **FREIG, Johannes Thomas** (1582) *Colloquia sive Exercitatio Latinae Linguae*, Noribergae, p. 35

Discoloribus. Quartum genus ludi puerilis per calculus discolores. Qui duodecim Scruporum lus Quintiliano dicitur: Germanis, der zwölfte Stein.

Sunt enim duodecim scrupi seu calculi, è quibus sex albi, sex negri. Gallis le jeu aux danies... [a printing mistake, it should be dames]

Translation:

The fourth kind of childish game with colored stones. That game 'duodecim Scruporum' according to Quintilian: to the Germans, the game of the twelve stones.

For it is twelve stones or pebbles, six whites and six blacks. The French (Gauls) call it the game of the ladies (dames).

Here we observe in the 16th century the different terms for Alquerque-12 and I think that the French term iouons aux dames has to do with Alquerque-12 and the new "dame" piece in this game. So I do not think that it had already to do with a draughts game played on a checkered chess board. The question remains when exactly the draughts game was used in France, Italy, and England.

### 5.2.3 Caelius Calcagninus

Caelius Calcagninus (1479-1541) also known as Celio Calcagnini was an Italian humanist and scientist from Ferrara. Educated in Ferrara, after about ten years of service in the Ferrarese armies he returned to Ferrara in 1506<sup>173</sup> and was given the chair of Greek and Latin at the University of Ferrara in 1507 or 1509. He was admitted to the chancery of Cardinal Ippolito d'Este in 1510. He had a major influence on Rabelais literary and linguistic ideas and is presumed to have met him in Italy and was praised by Erasmus. Calcagninus must have known the Spanish Jew Francesch Vicent, who showed the first diagrams of the draughts game at the beginning of the 16th century and was in the service of Lucrecia Borgia at the court of Ferrara.



**Celio Calcagnini ca. 1520**

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<sup>173</sup> **CALCAGNINI, Celio** (1544). *Opera aliquot*, Basel.

Calcagnini's treatise *Quomodo caelum stet, terra moveatur, vel de perenni motu terrae commentatio*, in which he held that the earth moved around the sun, anticipated Galileo Galilei by some years, for Galileo was not born until 1564. In 1509 he was called to the chair of Greek and Latin letters at the University of Ferrara, a position that he held for the rest of his life. In 1510 he entered the service of the Church as canon of the cathedral of Ferrara and earned the rank of protonotary. Calcagnini earned his doctorate in canon law in 1514, and his rhetorical skills and sophisticated wit won him the appointment of official historian of the Este court<sup>174</sup> in 1517. He was married to Marietta Strozzi.

Calcagninus was a good friend of Erasmus, Ludovico Ariosto, the painter Raphael<sup>175</sup>, and Isabella D'este for whom he wrote poetry on the occasion of the death of her dog Aura in 1507<sup>176</sup>.

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<sup>174</sup> Studies on Calcagnini's biography and work include Ferrante Borsetti (as in No. 54), vol. 2, 115-22; Giannandrea Barotti, *Memorie istoriche di letterati ferraresi* (Ferrara: Gli Eredi di Giuseppi Rinaldi, 1792), vol. 1, 287-306; Ernesto Piana, *Ricerche ed osservazioni sulla vita e sugli scritti di Celio Calcagnini umanista ferrarese del secolo XVI* (Rovigo: A. Conzatti, 1899); Alfonso Lazzari, "Un enciclopedico del sec. XVI: Celio Calcagnini," *Atti e Memorie della Deputazione Ferrarese di Storia Patria* 30 (1936): 83-164; DBI, vol. 16 (1973), s.v. "Calcagnini, Celio," 492-98; Claudio Moreschini, "Per una storia dell'umanesimo latino a Ferrara," in Castelli (as in No. 61), 168-88; and idem, "Aspetti dell'attività letteraria di Celio Calcagnini," in "In supreme dignitatis ..." *Per la storia dell'Università di Ferrara 1391-1991*, ed. Patrizia Castelli (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1995), 155-72.

Works cited by: **FIorenza, Giancarlo** (2000) *Dosso Dossi, Garofalo, and the Costabili Polyptych: Imaging Spiritual Authority*. In: *The Art Bulletin*, Vol. 82, No. 2, pp. 252-279

<sup>175</sup> **SLIM, H. Colin** (1990) *Dosso Dossi's Allegory at Florence About Music*. In: *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, Vol. 43, No. 1 (Spring, 1990), pp. 43-98

The reader who studies a portion of the treatise *De Calculis* that bears the title *Ludo Calculario XII* will soon understand that the Greek and Latin professor Caelius Calcagninus describes the game of Alquerque (the precursor of draughts). In his time this game was known all over Western Europe. It was engraved in the choral benches and played in galleys. A popular Belgian Latin textbook for students even contained a drawing of the board. Maybe in the Netherlands this game bore the name ‘*twaelstecken*’. The reason that a highly educated man was engaged in this game was the idea that the strains came from the classical period and so it would have high quality. Here one had to think of the mysterious 5-line game mentioned by Julius Pollux and/or the Polis or City Game. (Also called Soldiers’ Game). The humanists Freigius, Raderus, and Senftlebius also thought that Calcagninus described the game of Alquerque<sup>177</sup>. Ficoroni<sup>178</sup> gave an abbreviated Italian translation of the article by Calcagninus, in which the position of the 10 pawns and two leaders is emphasized. Finally Pratesi<sup>179</sup> gives a short description and English translation of the work of Calcagnini:

This work is often quoted as one of the first descriptions clearly distinguishing between chess and *ludus latrunculorum*. Another merit may be the quotation of the game which we know as tangram: it came to Europe from China about two centuries ago, but evidently it was already known to classical civilisations. *Calcagnini*’s language has lost the grace of classical Latin; moreover the text is

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<sup>176</sup> **PRIZER, William F.** (1999) Una “Virtù Molto Conveniente A Madonne”: *Isabella D’este As a Musician*. In: *The Journal of Musicology*, Vol. 17, N°. 1, A Birthday Tableau for H. Colin Slim (Winter, 1999), pp. 10-49

<sup>177</sup> **JANSEN, Rob** (1991) Draughts Magazine *Hoofdljn*, Amsterdam, p. 4

<sup>178</sup> **FICORONI, F. DE** (1734) 1 tali ed altri strumenti lusori degli antichi Romani, Roma

<sup>179</sup> **PRATESI, Franco** (1993) Draughts Magazine *Hoofdljn*, Amsterdam, pp. 32-34

affected by several printing errors. Thus the treatise has yet to be fully understood, at least in some parts.

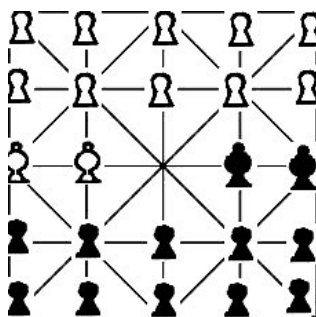
<p><b>1.</b> Quae omnia in calculis diversa sunt, nam et lineae quinque XVI quadris, seu regiones vel urbes malis appellare, implentur.</p> <p><b>2.</b> Ad in ludo calculario XII ad summum manipulones, in duas decurias et praestites duos laterales centuriati, totam militiam exercent, in quibus tamen disciplinam explicandae aciei agnoscere. Siquidem in fronte iugati sunt ordines per quinarium numerum: altitudo autem triplici acie instructa est, ut cubitos occupet XII.</p> <p><b>3.</b> Expedito enim et ordinato militi cubita quatur tribuuntur. Quom vero farissa cubita XIII protendatur, ita ut extremi ordinis vel (si lubet sic dixisse) triarii farissa non sit inutilis, quae cubitis duobus infesta in hostem exporrigatur.</p> <p><b>4.</b> Haec est imago illa militiae quam calculis expressam volvere, alioqui ei qui suo loco excessisset, praesto fuit poena, ut circurventus in manus</p>	<p><b>1.</b> (With respect to chess) all that is different and five lines form 16 squares, namely regions or cities, as you prefer to name them.</p> <p><b>2.</b> But in the boardgame of pebbles 12 soldiers to the top, ordered in two groups of ten and two lateral chiefs, exert all the army, and you can realise in them the art of deploying the military array. Indeed, in the front the orders are connected by number V: on the other hand the thickness is established by a triple array, so that it occupies 12 squares.</p> <p><b>3.</b> In fact, to a quick and ordered man 4 squares are assigned. Since however the ferse extends its action on 14 squares, so that the ferse of the outermost order or (if we may so say) the triple one will not be useless, it must be given to the enemy if attacked by two squares.</p> <p><b>4.</b> This is that image of the army which is represented by moving with pebbles. Otherwise to that which went out from its own place, abruptly a punishment</p>
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<p>hostium perveniret: quod quom facile fiat, si latera agminis enudetur, ob id constitutum accepimus, ne quis de sacra linea, id est media decedat, cui laterales praestites praefecti sunt. Ea enim prodita tum caetera acies incursionibus hostium facile patet.</p> <p><b>5.</b> Ab eadem ratione militari deductum est, ut miles qui castra hostium penetrarit, et in arces evaserit, quasi murali corona donatus, virtutis ergo late impune pervagetur: nec nisi ter circumventus succubuisse iudicetur.</p> <p><b>6.</b> Illud praeterea hostimentum in utroque agmine servabatur: ut quasi collatis signis vir viro implexus confligeret: et quorum altera parte cornu pelleretur, altera hostem urgeret: ut ita in tota concertatione commutato victoriae ordine paria fierent (Calcagninus, 1544).</p>	<p>occurred, as it arrived surrounded in the hands of the enemies- a thing that easily would occur, if the flanks of the array had to be voided. Therefore, we consider ascertained that nobody should go out of the holy line, namely the middle one, to whom lateral officials are commanding. In fact, if it is abandoned then the remaining part of the array easily suffers the attacks of the enemy.</p> <p><b>5.</b> From the same military reason is derived that as a man enters the enemy camp and has access to the fortress, being awarded as if with a stone crown, it may wander about with impunity and may be considered to have been captured only if three times surrounded.</p> <p><b>6.</b> Moreover, in both arrays they followed this reciprocation: that with the signs brought together one fights man to man; and of them one is driven to the corner while the other will push the enemy; so that in the whole struggle by changing the order of the victory it becomes equal.</p>
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Here we observe that this type of Alquerque 12 has two leaders at the beginning, i.e. two strong pieces and 10 pawns. Strangely enough, we have seen something similar in two compositions of

Juan de Timoneda<sup>180</sup>, where there are two Damas in the initial position of the game. This is pure chess, as says José Antonio Garzón Roger.



Alquerque-12 with two leaders



Juan de Timoneda, Party game 33

<sup>180</sup> **TIMONEDA, Juan** (1635) Libro llamado Ingenio, el cual trata del Juego del Marro de punta", hecho por Juan de Timoneda, Dedicado al Mvy magnifico Señor don Ynnigo de Losca Capitan en las Galeras de España. Al qual se han annadido ocho trechas de mucho primor, por Antonio Miron y del Castillo, Tolosa. (The texts of this book are those of the first Spanish draughts book, erroneously attributed to Antonio de Torquemada in 1547).



Juan de Timoneda, Party game 42

But most surprising is the fact that there are also chess precedents, discovered by José Antonio Garzón Roger and also linked to Valencia. One comes from a second treaty of Francesch Vicent<sup>181</sup>, not less egregious than the printed book in Valencia in 1495, the Holy Grail of chess, now finally recovered<sup>182</sup>.

<sup>181</sup> **VICENT, Francesch** (1495) *Libre dels joch partitis del Scachs en nombre de 100 ordenat e compost per mi Francesch Vicent, nat en la ciutat de Segorbe, criat e vehí de la insigne e valeroso ciutat de Valencia. Y acaba: A loor e gloria de nostre Redemtor Jesu Christ fou acabat lo dit libre dels jochs partitis dels scachs en la sinsigne ciutat de Valencia e estampat per mans de Lope de Roca Alemany e Pere Trinchet librere á XV días de Maig del any MCCCCLXXXV.*

<sup>182</sup> **GARZÓN ROGER, José Antonio** (2001) *En pos del incunable perdido. Francesch Vicent: Llibre dels jochs partitis dels schachs, Valencia, 1495.* (Prólogo Dr. Ricardo Calvo). Biblioteca Valenciana. ISBN 84-482-2860-X  
**WESTERVELD, Govert** (2004) *La reina Isabel la Católica, su reflejo en la dama poderosa de Valencia, cuna de ajedrez moderno y origen del juego de damas.* En colaboración con **José Antonio Garzón Roger**, Valencia. (Foreword of Prof. Dr. Juan Torres Fontes). Generalidad Valenciana, Secretaria Automòmica de Cultura. ISBN 84-482-3718-8

**GARZÓN ROGER, José Antonio** (2005) *El regreso de Francesch Vicent: la historia del nacimiento y expansión del ajedrez moderno.* (Prólogo Anatoli Karpov). Generalitat Valenciana, Conselleria de Cultura, Educació i Esport: Fundació Jaume II el Just, Valencia. ISBN 84-482-4193-2 (Spanish edition).

Garzón with his new book<sup>183</sup>, in this case about the famous poet Juan de Timoneda, refers to the composition 150 of Lucena<sup>184</sup>, who copied the treaty of Francesch Vicent in 1497.

But the composition 150 in the book of Lucena is not the only composition in which we see two damas. In the manuscripts of Cesena (position 9-2) and Perugia (position 11), made by Francesch Vicent white starts the game with two queens, as indicated by Garzón<sup>185</sup>. It is interesting to see that a so called queen *dama caballota* also has the power of a knight.

Thus we see that at the beginning of the 16th century two leaders or strong pieces were used in Alquerque 12, chess, and draughts. Apart from the composition number 150 in the book of Lucena there are no more proofs of it in chess, but the situation is quite different for draughts.

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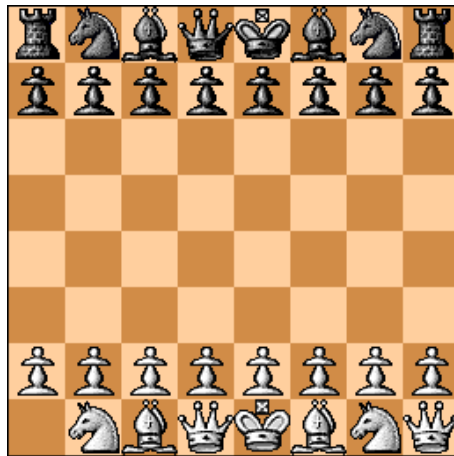
**GARZON ROGER, José Antonio** (2005) *The Return of Francesch Vicent: the history of the birth and expansion of modern chess*; translated by Manuel Pérez Carballo. (Foreword Anatoli Karpov). Generalitat Valenciana, Conselleria de Cultura, Educació i Esport: Fundació Jaume II el Just, Valencia. ISBN 84-482-4194-0 (English Edition)

**GARZON ROGER, José Antonio** (2007) *Estudio del tratado ajedrecístico de Luca Pacioli*. Valencia. Depósito Legal V-5124-2007

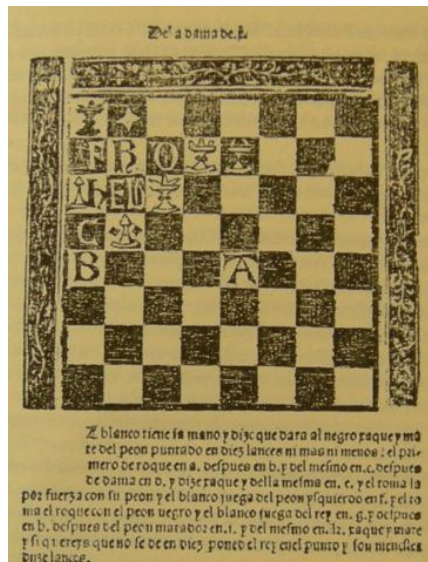
<sup>183</sup> **GARZÓN ROGER, José Antonio** (2010) "Lucas sobre el Ingenio, el pionero libro del juego llamado marro de punta, de Juan Timoneda". Centro Francisco Tomás y Valencia, UNED Alzira-Valencia. ISBN 978-84-92885-00-8

<sup>184</sup> **LUCENA** (1497) *Repetición de amores e arte de Axedres con CL Juegos de Partido*. Salamanca

<sup>185</sup> **GARZON ROGER, José Antonio** (2005) *The Return of Francesch Vicent: the history of the birth and expansion of modern chess*; translated by Manuel Pérez Carballo. (Foreword Anatoli Karpov). Generalitat Valenciana, Conselleria de Cultura, Educació i Esport: Fundació Jaume II el Just, Valencia. ISBN 84-482-4194-0 (English Edition), pp. 124-126

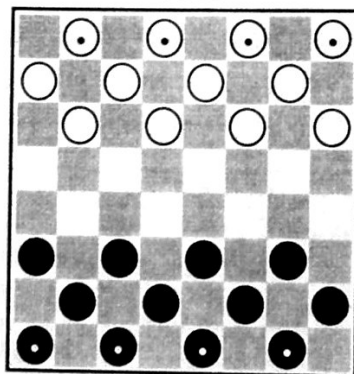


Position Perugia 11 = Cesena 9-2, white has two queens



Position 150 of Lucena

We see in the draughts book of Juan García Canalejas of 1650 that he discusses 100 openings, in which each player can dispose of a Dama in the initial position. In these 100 openings of the game we see that the dama in question of each player is put by the opponent in different places. This matter is more interesting when we see that García Canalejas<sup>186</sup> discusses 30 openings, in which each player has two Damas!




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<sup>186</sup> **GARCÍA CANALEJAS, Juan** (1650) Libro del Juego de las Damas, dividido en tres tratados. El primero es de peones, donde se contienen 80 juegos, ò salidas con muchas diferencias. El segundo es para jugar de Dama a Dama, con 100 juegos, ò salidas, poniendo su Dama el contrario en diferentes partes. El tercero es para jugar de dos à dos Damas con 30 juegos, ò salidas, y muchos lances sueltos para dar à escoger, y otras curiosidades. Compuesto por Juan García Canalejas, vezino de la ciudad de Granada. Dirigido a don Juan Baptista Pertusa, caballero del habito de nuestra Señora de Montesa de la ciudad de Valencia. Con licencia. En Çaragoça, por Juan Nogues, año 1650 a costa de su Autor. 8 h + 144 = 160 pages

In the first French draughts book *Le iev des dames* written by the engineer Pierre Mallet<sup>187</sup> in 1668 we see that in the opening position of the game both white and black has 4 crowned pieces! They are called “Dames couronnées”.

This book was written in 1668, thus 121 years later than the first Spanish draughts book! The book gives little technical news about the draughts game and according to Mallet the game is called ‘Le iev des dames’ because the ‘Dames’ (ladies) like to play the game with much conversation. The author names nine known draughts players, among them the famous mathematician Pierre Hérigone and a very strong draughts player called Sieur l’Hoste, an unlearned person who knew more than 1000 draughts games from memory<sup>188</sup>. There were two ways of playing: “pleasant” or “forçat”.

The draughts historian Branch also speaks about two queens in the draughts game of the Spaniards<sup>189</sup>:

Another difference, but a matter of custom and not of rules, is that the Spaniards frequently play with eleven men and a King [should be Queen], or ten men and two Kings -one on each side; sometimes only one on the side. It appears that these differences probably come from our game, especially the increased capturing power of a King – sometimes with a chess bishop-like move – came about in Spain after the English had learned the game as they know it now, but before 1500.

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<sup>187</sup> **MALLET, Pierre** (1668). *Le jeu des dames - Avec toutes les maximes et règles, tant générales que particulières, qu'il faut observer an icelui. Et la méthode d'y bien jouer*". - Paris

<sup>188</sup> **JANSEN, Rob** (1998). *Het curiceuze damboek van Pierre Mallet (1668)*. In: draughts magazine “*Hoofdlijn*”, number 60, May, pp. 38-39.

<sup>189</sup> **BRANCH, William Shelley** (1911) *The History of Checkers From the Earliest Known Date. Its Evolution and Growth*, Cheltenham, United Kingdom. Written for Pittsburg Leader between October 8, 1911 – April 14, 1912. (here 3 December 1911)

We see another proof in the following diagram of Francesh Vicent, already at the beginning of the 16th century, when he left Spain and settled in Ferrara.

P	D	P		P	v	P	R <sub>v</sub>
	P		P		P		P
P		P		P		P	v
	P		P		P		P
	P		P		P		P
P		P		P		P	v
	P		P		P		P
P	D	P		P	v	P	R <sub>v</sub>

**Ludus Rebellionis C.**  
**Manuscript of Cesena (1502) and Perugia, (1502)**

Thanks to a thorough investigation of the chess manuscripts from Perugia and Cesena (written around 1502<sup>190</sup>) Garzón found that the Manuscript of Perugia was written 88 years earlier than all draughts historians had thought! This is rather important since most draughts historians thought that this manuscript was from 1590. Garzón also published various diagrams of a game that Francesh Vicent called *Ludus rebellionis*. Among them we see a game called *Ludus Rebellionis C*. We see on the board published here before that Vicent is trying to fill the board - as in Alquerque 12 - with 16

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<sup>190</sup> Personal communication from José Antonio Garzón Roger (3 July, 2011): “Currently, due to my new investigations, I have the certainty that the common part of both manuscripts is contemporary and was produced c. 1502”.



pawns for each player, but that at the same time he is placing two strong pieces on each side of the board - one of the Dama (D=Queen) and Rey (R=King). Unfortunately Vicent did not give us the rule of this new game.

### **5.2.4 Rodrigo Caro**

Rodrigo Caro (1573-1647) was a poet, historian, lawyer and Catholic priest of the Spanish Golden Age.



**Rodrigo Caro painted by Francisco Pacheco**

He studied canons at the University of Osuna, where he enrolled in 1590, and from 1594 in Seville, from where he graduated in 1596. After his father's death he was picked up by his uncle Juan Diaz Caro, who lived in Sevilla. Caro was an ecclesiastical lawyer between 1596 and 1620, and had no shortage of work, as

he attended seven lawsuits a year during that period. He supported his mother and eight brothers and still did not receive the protection of the Duke of Alcalá who was to be his patron in future. He was ordained priest at the latest in 1598 and received an ecclesiastical benefice in the parish of Santa Maria de Utrera. He managed to be named the lawyer of the city council of his village and in 1619 began working as a censor of books. He was general inspector of the archdiocese and in June 1627 moved to Seville where he also served as probate judge. Other commissions of the archbishopric caused him various bitternesses and a short exile to Portugal. In 1645 he resigned from his chaplaincy by not being able to attend it due to a stomach illness that became worse by the time. He died two years later at 74 on 10 August 1647.

He maintained good relations with numerous authors, such as Francisco de Rioja, who delayed action on his request for real chaplaincy and cargo as chronicler; Francisco de Quevedo, whom he met on a trip to Sevilla with the king in 1624; Francisco Pacheco, etc. He was, above all, an archaeologist, antiquarian, and historian; he had a large library of classics and even a small museum, and wrote in Latin as well as in Castilian.

Caro thought that Draughts was a very old game, older than chess, and that it had two names: *Latrunculorm lusus* and *Ludus Calculorum* as we can see hereunder<sup>191</sup>:

The game was called *Latruncolorum Lusus*. Alexadro ab Alexandro describes it in his *Dias geniales*, chapter XXI, with these words:

«*Ludus Calculorum, veteribus praecipius fuisse traditur, qui et latrones dicti hi enim duas divissi turmas erant colores dibersi, quorum alii milites alii hostes: horum lusus erat, ut turmis instructis velunt qui congredi acie parabant, hinc inde sub hostium imagine procederent,*

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<sup>191</sup> **CARO, Juan** (1884) *Días geniales ó lúdicos*. Sevilla, p. 143

ac praescripto fine quo ad quisque progredi debeat: ita cavere oportebat, ut dum postem quisque invadere mititur, alterius non pateat in cursibus qui etiam, exgemma, fuere viris, et mulieribus frequens, à melioribus vel summis honoribus, vel maxime aectus et celebratus. Luem Pamedes invenisse proditus ad componendas otiosi exercitus seditiones.»

**Translation:**

The game was called Latrunculorum Lusus. Alexandro ab Alexandro describes it in his *Dias geniales, chapter XXI*, with these words:

“The game of counters, which is said to especially old, is also called robbers. There were different colours divided into two teams, of which one was soldiers and the other enemies: the game was to draw up your teams as you wanted and prepare to arrange them in formation, and from there advance under the enemies’ tokens, and a predefined border where each piece aims to advance to: so the player had to be careful so that while each [piece] was sent to invade the border, the other [player’s piece] wouldn’t lie exposed in their journey. And these [pieces] were also [made] from gemstones. It was played by both men and women, by [people of] better or even the highest ranks, and it was an especially high and celebrated game. Pamedes advanced to an insurrection composed of [the other player’s] idle army and met defeat.”

<b>Latin</b>	<b>Author</b>	<b>Translation</b>
Calculorum ludus	Antonio de Nebrija	Alquerque (Alquerque-12) Chess 1495
Calculorum ludus	Antonio de Nebrija	Andarraia <b>NOVUM</b> 1495
Domina-ae	Antonio de Nebrija	<b>NOVUM</b> 1495
Calculis	Juan Luis Vives	Alquerque-12 1538
Ludo calculario	Caelius Calcagninus	1544
	Juan Luis Vives	Alquerque-12 1555
	Juan Luis Vives	Aux dames 1573
	Johannes Thomas Freig	Duodecim Scrupi seu calculi Der zwölfte Stein Gallis le jeu au dames 1582
Ludus calculorum	Rodrigo Caro	Juego de las damas 1624

## 5.3 Ludus Dominarum

### Francesch Vicent (c. 1477? – c. 1552?)

The Spanish Jew Francesch Vicent showed the first diagram of draughts<sup>192</sup> in the Manuscript of Cesena (1502) and the one of Perugia (1502)<sup>193</sup>. The Italian historian Sanvito<sup>194</sup> discovered that he was in the service of Lucrecia Borgia at the court of Ferrara in 1506 as teacher of chess.

	P		P		P		P
P		P		P		P	
	P		P		P		P
P		P		P		P	
	P		P		P		P
P		P		P		P	

**Ludus Dominarum D.**

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<sup>192</sup> **GARZÓN ROGER, José Antonio** (2005) *The Return of Francesch Vicent: the history of the birth and expansion of modern chess*; translated by Manuel Pérez Carballo. (Foreword Anatoli Karpov). Generalitat Valenciana, Conselleria de Cultura, Educació i Esport: Fundació Jaume II el Just, Valencia. ISBN 84-482-4194-0 (English Edition)

<sup>193</sup> Ambos MSS. vienen descritos en la importante obra de Sanvito: *Bibliografia italiana degli scacchi. Dalle origine al 1999*. Edizioni Sylvestre Bonnard. Milano, 1999. The Codex of Perugia is numbered 49 and Cesena 53, the latter was discovered by Franco Pratesi

<sup>194</sup> **SANVITO, ALESSANDRO** (1999) Documento perteneciente al Memoriale di Lucrezia Borgia, 1506. En: *L'Italia Scacchistica*, n° 1131, diciembre de 1999, pp. 392 y 393)

There is every reason to believe that this diagram appears in the book of Francesch Vicent, because practically all the chess diagrams of the Manuscript of Cesena and Perugia appear in the lost book of Vicent<sup>195</sup> too. According to Friar Benito Ribas<sup>196</sup> the case of this book is nothing else than the “juego de las damas o ajedrez” (game of the damas or chess). This striking phrase of Ribas is confusing draughts with chess. Joseph Vargas Ponce<sup>197</sup> (1760-1821), a known scholar, paid a visit to the Monastery of Montserrat in 1799, an event that was recorded by Alexandre Oliver<sup>198</sup> too. Vargas Ponce described various works, among them the book of Francesh Vicent:

Vicente Francisco, sobre el Juego de damas, en Valencia, 1 tomo, 4º, por Antonio López de la Roca.

**Translation:**

Vicente Francisco, about the draughts (chess?) game, at Valencia, 1 Volume, 4º, by Antonio López de la Roca.

Due to the short time available and as the work is written in Valencia, Varga may have been confusing things. The fact that he mentions that the book discusses the game of draughts could have been motivated by a hurry, as he had to quickly page

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<sup>195</sup> **VICENT, Francesh** (1495) Libre dels joch partitis del Scachs en nombre de 100 ordenat e compost per mi Francesh Vicent, nat en la ciutat de Segorbe, criat e vehí de la insigne e valeroso ciutat de Valencia. Y acaba: A loor e gloria de nostre Redemtor Jesu Christ fou acabat lo dit libre dels jochs partitis dels scachs en la sinsigne ciutat de Valencia e estampat per mans de Lope de Roca Alemany e Pere Trinchet librere á XV días de Maig del any MCCCCLXXXV

<sup>196</sup> **DIOSDADO CABALLERO, Raymundo.** (1793) De Prima Typographiae Hispaniae. Roma, pp. 93-94

<sup>197</sup> **BARAUT, Cebrià** (1968) Viatge de Joseph Vargas Ponce a Montserrat l'any 1799. In: Miscellania Barcinonensia 7, number XVIII, 1968, pp. 7-37

<sup>198</sup> **OLIVER, Alexandre** (1990) Els incunables conservats a la Biblioteca de Montserrat, Publicaciones de l'Abadia de Montserra, Barcelona

through the books and probably saw several times the term “de la dama” and thereafter a draughts diagram at the beginning or end of this book, such as appearing the manuscript of Cesena and Perugia. In the manuscript of Cesena the draughts diagram adjoins the first chess technical position and in the one of Perugia it is destined to close the chess session<sup>199</sup>. It could also be possible that he was still thinking in chess with the term “juego de damas”.

### 5.3.1 Daniel de Souter

Daniel de Souter (1571-1634) was born in Vlissingen (Holland) and in 1614 he was priest in Kampen. He left this city in August 1615 to settle as priest in Haarlem, where he died in 1634.



<sup>199</sup> **GARZÓN ROGER, José Antonio** (2005) The return of Franchesch Vicent. The history of the Birth and Expansion of Modern Chess, p. 171



From his pen appeared the famous game encyclopedia *Palamedes* in 1617. Although he discusses the Greek and Roman games<sup>200</sup> in the book, he also mentioned for comparison the draughts game that he saw played in his time. Each player had 15 discs on the draughts board that in this case was not the chessboard, but a checkered board of 10 x 10 (100 squares).

caput XX: Tabula, in qua latrunculis ludebatur apud veteres, tota lineis districta, et unicuique calculo suus locus ac sua sedes attributa, nec aliter hodie est apud nos Tabula enim lusoria quadraturis discoloribus alternatim positis distincta est, et in illis loculis quadratis locari solent calculi. Atque hic ludus nihil, aut parum, distabat à nostro, quem vocamus Dominarum ioco, qui tamen triginta tantum calculis luditur: quindecim albis, et quindecim rubeis.

#### **Translation:**

The board, on which the ancients played with pebbles, is completely subdivided by lines and each pebble has its own place and position granted, and the board is not different today with us. The board is subdivided into squares of different colours which are placed alternately, and one places the pebbles on the squares. And this game was not different at all, or was little different, from our own game that we call draughts. However, this is played with only 30 discs, 15 white and 15 dark red ones.

However, if we are to believe Georgius Mebius<sup>201</sup>, then the work of *Palamede* was written by Petrus Schrijverius (1576-1660).

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<sup>200</sup> **SOUTER, Daniël de** (1617) *Palamedes*, Leiden

**JANSEN, Rob** (1991) *Draughts Magazine Hoofddlijn*, Amsterdam, Number 19, p. 3

<sup>201</sup> **MEBIUS, Georgius** (1687) *Reden-lievende-God-geleerde verhandeling, van den Oorsprongk, verder-uytbreyding en Volharding der Heydensche Orakelen*, Rotterdam, pp. 78-79

**Petrus Scriverius**, the Latinized form of **Peter Schrijver** or **Schryver** (12 January 1576 – 30 April 1660), was a Dutch writer and scholar on the history of Holland and Belgium. He was born at Haarlem, and educated by Cornelis Schoneus at the University of Leiden, where he formed a close intimacy with Daniel Heinsius.



In 1599 he married Anna van der Aar, and from 1611 to 1613 he was headmaster of the Latin School in Duisburg, today's Landfermann-Gymnasium. He belonged to the party of Oldenbarnevelt and Grotius, and brought down the displeasure of the government by a copy of Latin verses in honor of their friend, the Remonstrant Leiden pensionaris Rombout Hoogerbeets. Scriverius' poems were considered libelous and he was fined 200 guilders. Most of his life was passed in Leiden, but in 1650 he became blind, and the last years of his life were spent in his son's house at Oudewater, where he died in 1660.

He is best known as a scholar by his notes on Martial, Ausonius, the *Pervigilium Veneris*; editions of the poems of Joseph Justus Scaliger (Leiden, 1615), of the *De re militari* of Vegetius Renatus, the tragedies of Seneca (*P. Scriverii collectanea veterum tragicorum*, 1621), &c. His *Opera anecdota, philologica, et poetica* (Utrecht, 1738) was edited by A. H. Westerhovius, and his *Nederduitsche Gedichten* (1738) by S. Dockes.

### 5.3.2 Claudius Salmasius

Claude Saumasius or Claude Saumaise was a famous French scholar. Salmasius was born in Semur-en-Auxois in Burgundy in 1588 and died in Spa in 1653. He studied in Paris and Heidelberg and was a professor in Leiden from 1632.



**Claude Saumaise**

He was a prolific author and textual critic. In 1620 Salmasius published Casaubon's notes on the *Augustan History* with copious additions of his own. In this Latin work Saumaise discusses in particular the Greek diagrammismos game<sup>202</sup>. After citing a passage of Hesychius, which supported his description, Saumaise adds a useful note<sup>203</sup>.

Hic ludus nihil aut parum distabat a nostro, quem vocamus, dominarum ioco: qui triginta tamen tantum calculis luditur, quindecim albis, et quindecim rubeis.

**Translation:**

This game leaves little or no differences compared to our game, which we call the game of dama (draughts), however, played with only thirty pieces, fifteen white and fifteen red ones.

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<sup>202</sup> **BRUNET Y BELLET, José** (1891) *El Ajedrez*, Investigaciones sobre su origen, Barcelona, p. 204

<sup>203</sup> **SALMASIUS, Claudius** (1620) *Ad Latrunculos luderetur* - *Historiae Augustae Scriptores VI*, Paris

### 5.3.3 Thomas Hyde

Thomas Hyde was born in Billingsley, near Bridgnorth in Shropshire in 1636 and died in Oxford in 1703. Hyde was an excellent classical scholar, and there was hardly an Eastern tongue accessible to foreigners with which he was not familiar.



Thomas Hyde

His writings are the best testimony to his mastery of Turkish, Arabic, Syriac, Persian, Hebrew, and Malay. Hyde wrote several books, including the first of the two volumes of the "Ludis Orientalibus". In this book he studied the origin of chess

and came to the conclusion that the game was invented in India. In his book he described the draughts game<sup>204</sup>. The Latin and Hebrew texts were recently translated by Keats<sup>205</sup>.

Cumque Nomen Dames in Linguis Europaeis denotet dominas, sunt qui non debitârunt hunc ludum latinè appellare dominarum Jocum; quod profectò est Jocus omninó ridendus, dum illi Critici nolunt extra suarum linguarum pomoeria quaerere.

#### **Translation:**

Since the name “Dames” means lady in European languages, some believe that this game was called “the game of ladies” in Latin; and this is of course completely ridiculous, since those critics are unwilling to search outside the sacred boundaries of their own languages.

### **The Portuguese Etymologic dictionary of Machado**

The etymologic dictionary of Machado<sup>206</sup> leaves us the following words:

**Dama:** s. Jogo; mais vulgar no pl. **jogo das damas** o port. **damas**, o cast. **Dama** (draughts)

(ajedrez de la dama), o it. **dama** e o fr. **dame**

(os dois ultimos com provável origen espanhola, tal como creio, a forma portuguesa) continuam a designação (ludus)

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<sup>204</sup> **HYDE, Thomas** (1694b) De Ludis Orientalibus, Oxford, volume II, pp. 174-175

<sup>205</sup> **KEATS, Victor** (1994) Chess: Its Origin. A translation with commentary and explanation of the Latin and Hebrew in Thomas Hyde’s “De Ludis Orientalibus” (Oxford, 1694). Oxford Academia Publishers, Oxford

<sup>206</sup> **MACHADO, J.P.** (1967) Dicionario etimologico da lingua Portuguesa. 2ª edição, Lisboa, p. 755.

### Translation

(the last two with probably Spanish origin, as I believe, the Portuguese manner) continue the designation (ludus)

**dominarum** com que no séc. XIV se denominava o aludido jogo;

### Translation:

**dominarum** with which the aforementioned game was meant in the XVI century;

Consequently this seems to be an unreliable etymological dictionary.

Latin	Author	Translation
Ludus Dominarum	Francesch Vicent	1504 Draughts
Dominarum	Daniël de Souter	1617-1625 Draughts 15 discs Board 10x10 Dame; Belgisch: Dammen
Dominarum	Claude Saumaise	1620
Dominarum	Thomas Hyde	1694

## 6 MARRO

### THE ETYMOLOGY OF THE WORD MARRO

The etymological dictionary of Corominas<sup>207</sup> says:

marrar

L'acc "Mena de Joc" <"ludus lapillis aciem effingens"> (Belv) és la que es documenta primer, i pot derivar també de "marrar" en el sentit de jugar exposant-se a marrar-la;

**Loose translation:**

“it is the one that was documented in the first place, and can also derive from the word ‘marrar’ in the sense of play, exposing to surround her”

Alcover mentions in his dictionary:

Joc antiq, semblant al de dames, del qual encara es conserva a record a Menorca

**Loose translation:**

“Old game, similar to checkers, of which there is still a memory in Menorca”

And gives three references<sup>208</sup>: (Volume VII)

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<sup>207</sup> **COROMINES, Joan** (1985). Diccionari Etimològic I Complementari de la llengua Catalana, Barcelona.



1. que nagan no gos jugar en la plassa.... en aço no és entès... joc de carn, ne de pex, ne encara festes de Nadal, ne joc de marro, St. Celoni, any 1370<sup>209</sup> :

**Loose translation:**

“1. That nobody enjoys playing in the square...this is not understood...game of corp, nor fish, nor even at Christmas parties, nor game of marro”

2. un taulell de fust de noguer ... de la una part apta a jugar escacs, e de l'altra a marro, Barcelona 1437<sup>210</sup> .

**Loose translation:**

“2. A woodboard of walnut...of a part made for playing chess, and the other one made for marro”

3. No gos ni presumesque ... jugar a ninguna manera de joch sinó a pilota de vent y xica, a marro y squachs<sup>211</sup> .

**Loose translation:**

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<sup>208</sup> **ALCOVER, ANTONI M<sup>a</sup>** (1957). Diccionario Catalá - Valencia - Balear, Palma de Mallorca.

<sup>209</sup> **BOLETIN DE LA REAL ACADEMIA DE BUENAS LETRAS DE BARCELONA** (1901). XII, p.129.

**KRUIJSWIJK, Karel Wendel** (1966). Algemene historie en bibliografie van het damspel, Den Haag, p. 48.

<sup>210</sup> **BOLETIN DE LA REAL ACADEMIA DE BUENAS LETRAS DE BARCELONA** (1901). XI, p.158.

**KRUIJSWIJK, Karel Wendel** (1966). Algemene historie en bibliografie van het damspel, Den Haag, p. 48.

<sup>211</sup> **CATALANA REVISTA DE BARCELONA** (1918), II, p. 287.

**KRUIJSWIJK, Karel Wendel** (1966). Algemene historie en bibliografie van het damspel, Den Haag, p. 48.

“3. Neither enjoy or presume of... play in any form of game but a ball of “vent and xica”, marro and chess”

In Aguiló's dictionary we see:

Diccionari *Aguiló*: (Aguiló, 1914-1934)  
.....segons aquell, del joc vindria la figura heràldica descrita per *Eiximenis*<sup>212</sup>

**Loose translation:**

“...according to him, from the game comes the heraldic figure described by Eiximenis”

According to Corominas<sup>213</sup> Marro is a name for different games and Nebrija doesn't mention this word in his dictionary. However, it does figure the word *Marrar* which means “fail short” and “deviate from the right<sup>214</sup>”. For more information on the etymology of this word we refer to the work of Dr. Arie Van der Stoep<sup>215</sup>.

The word Marro de punta was the most usual in the ordinary language for the game of checkers in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. We found this term in the book of checkers of 1547 by Antonio de Torquemada<sup>216</sup>, in the work of

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<sup>212</sup> CASTELLÓ, Juan (1957). Ibiza y Formentera, índice para el viajero, Palma de Mallorca.

<sup>213</sup> COROMINAS, J. Y PASCUAL, J.A. (1989). Diccionario crítico etimológico castellano e hispánico, Madrid.

<sup>214</sup> NEBRIJA, Antonio de (1516). Vocabulario de Romance en latín. Sevilla. (Reprint, Madrid, 1971)

<sup>215</sup> STOEP, Arie van der (1984). A history of draughts, Rockanje, pp. 160, 164, 165.

<sup>216</sup> TORQUEMADA, Antonio de (1547). El ingenio, o juego de Marro, de punta, o Damas. Valencia. (Lost book).

Lorenzo Valls<sup>217</sup> (1597), and in the treaty of Juan de Timoneda<sup>218</sup>.

## 6.1 Marro in Literature

### 6.1.1 1379 The Escarbunclo

En Cataluña se comparaba el escarbunclo de Navarra con **el marro**, o tres en raya, juego infantil que se efectua sobre rayas señaladas en el suelo. Fra *Francesc Eiximenis*, en capitulos del Primer del Chrestia redactados entre 1379 y 1381, indica que el escudo del rey de Navarra es **ab forma de marro, ab speres** (= esferas, referencia al pomelado) **pel mig de les linyes del dit marro**<sup>219</sup>. También Steve Tamborino, en el tratado heráldico que precede a su armorial de la Biblioteca Municipal de Tolosa del Languedoc, escribe<sup>220</sup>:

**Loose translation:**

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<sup>217</sup> **VALLS, Lorenzo** (1597). Libro del Juego de las Damas, por otro nombre el Marro de Punta, Valencia. - (Biblioteca del Palacio, Madrid).

<sup>218</sup> **TIMONEDA, Juan** (1635) Libro llamado Ingenio, el cual trata del Juego del Marro de punta", hecho por Juan de Timoneda, Dedicado al Mvy magnifico Senñor don Ynnigo de Losca Capitan en las Galeras de España. Al qual se han annadido ocho trechas de mucha primor, por Antonio Miron y del Castillo, Tolosa.

<sup>219</sup> **RIQUER, Martin de** (1986). Heráldica Castelana en Tiempos de los Reyes Católicos, Barcelona.

<sup>220</sup> **TAMBORINO, Steve** (1516). Armorial compiled between 1516 and 1519, ms. 2490 Library of the University of Salamanca; Ms. 798 of the Tolosa Municipal Library. (Tolosa is a copy of Salamanca). Tamborino was born in France between 1442 and 1447 and was a drummer in the Spanish service.

*Page 157*

In Cataluña the *escarbunclo* of Navarra was compared with the *marro*, or three in line, a children's game which was practiced over lines made in the ground. In the chapters of the First of the *Chrestia* written between 1379 and 1381 Fray *Francesc Eiximenis*, indicates that the shield of the King of Navarra is **ab form of marro ab speres** (=spheres, in reference to the pomelado) **pel mig de les linyes del dit marro** (in the middle of the lines of the *marro*). In the heraldic treaty that precedes the roll of arms of the Municipal Library of Tolosa of the Languedoc Steve Tamborino also writes:

**Mes havem uns altres senyals nomenats escarboncles, axi com es lo marro de Navarra** (there are other signs denominating *escarboncles*, so as the *marro* of Navarra)

*Página 153*

Lo que los españoles conocen como las cadenas de Navarra es un elemento que en heráldica ha recibido siempre el nombre de **escarbunclo**, y sería una discusión bizantina debatir si se trata de una pieza o de una figura estilizada. Deriva este término del latin **carbunculus**, piedra preciosa; y en la Edad Media se creía que el carbunculo tenía el poder de irradiar luz durante la noche o en la oscuridad.

**Loose translation:**

*Page 153*

What the Spaniards know as the chains of Navarra is an element that in heraldic has always received the name of *escarbunclo*, and it will take a byzantine discussion to debate if this is a piece or from a stylized figure. This term comes from the Latin word *carbunculus*, gemstone, and in the middle ages it was believed

that the carbúnculo had the power to radiate light during the night or in the darkness.

### 6.1.2 1591 Pedro Ruiz Montero

The oldest book that we found in the libraries is the work of Pedro Ruiz Montero<sup>221</sup>. He must have been a very good checkers player, given that in the manuscript of Alonso Guerra<sup>222</sup>, currently in possession of Victor Cantalapiedra Martín in Valladolid, Guerra says that Pedro Ruiz Montero had the nickname The Marro. It's strange that other authors, such as Antonio de Torquemada, Lorenzo Valls, and Juan de Timoneda talk in his book of **Marro de Punta**, while Pedro Ruiz Montero briefly evokes as The Marro in his book. On page 24 of his work we found the next phrase:

Otra que viene a ser tabla, aunque está en el libro que se imprimió en Valencia antiguamente, y la pone ganada, y yo hallo que es tabla sin ningun remedio por lo que lo dare a entender.

#### **Loose translation:**

Another that comes to be a draw, although it is in the book that was printed in Valencia long ago, and put it as a win, and I find that is a draw for sure, so that I will make it understood.

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<sup>221</sup> **RUIZ MONTERO, Pedro** (1591). Libro del Juego de las Damas, vulgarmente nombrado el marro, Valencia.

<sup>222</sup> **GUERRA, Alonso** (1595/1658). Libro para jugar a las damas, compuesto por el Licenciado Alonso Guerra, natural de la Villa de Ossuna, en el Andaluzia. (written about 1595), Reduzido assimismo en este mesmo estilo por el dicho Ldo Don Diego de Argomedo. En este año de 1658.

LIBRO  
DEL IVEGO

DE LAS DAMAS VVL-  
garmente nombrado el  
marro.

*Compuesto por Pedro Ruiz Montero natural  
de la ciudad de Cordova, y vecino  
de Lucena.*

Dirigido al muy Illustre señor don Pedro  
de Castro.

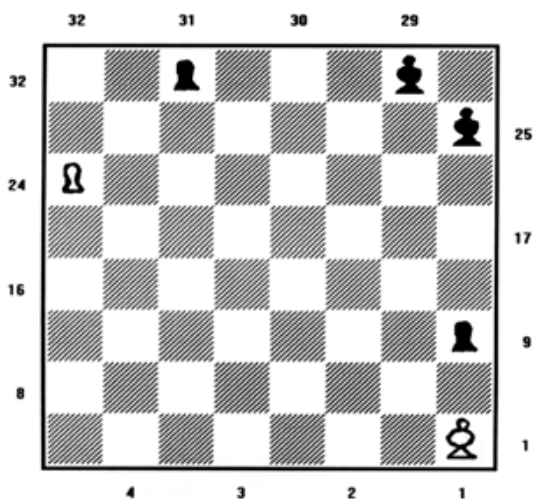


CON PRIVILEGIO.

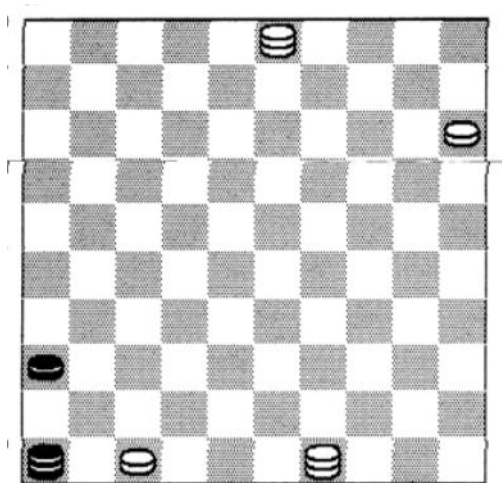
Impresso en Valencia en casa de Gabriel  
Ribes. Año 1591.

Acosta de Angelo Tabano merçader de libros

The checkers book of Pedro Ruiz Montero 1591



**The oldest final in the history of checkers**



**Final moved to a board of 100 squares**

The position in the diagram has been played by *Kruijswijk* on a board of 100 squares with the next victory:

47-42! With two variants:

I. 46-23; 42-38, 36-41; 15-10 en 3-14. II. 36-41, 49-32, 41-47; 32-5 en 3-14!

*Kruijswijk*<sup>223</sup> attributes this position to Antonio de Torquemada, who is the first author of a checkers book of 1547. It was published in Valencia where the first Spanish print was installed in 1474. Spain was the native country where the game of checkers began to flourish with the rule that was obligatory to eat. The Spanish game of checkers is characterized by two modern rules: the obligatory jump to eat the most, and the long lady, according to our famous historian and man of knowledge of finals, K.W. Kruijswijk.

Pedro Ruiz Montero says in his book that the position leads to a draw, but years later it was proved that the position was in fact a winner to the black ones.

### 6.1.3 1600 Fernando Oviedo

A figure similar to this board c. 1600 Book Cám. Real de Fdz Oviedo (ms. T88, 1870) 147 147 note: another says Nauarra, and bring (the weapons) a marro or alquerque of gold chains in the field of gole vel sanguino. (Var. mas. E 110: bears on his shield the marro or alquerque of the gold chains)<sup>224</sup>.

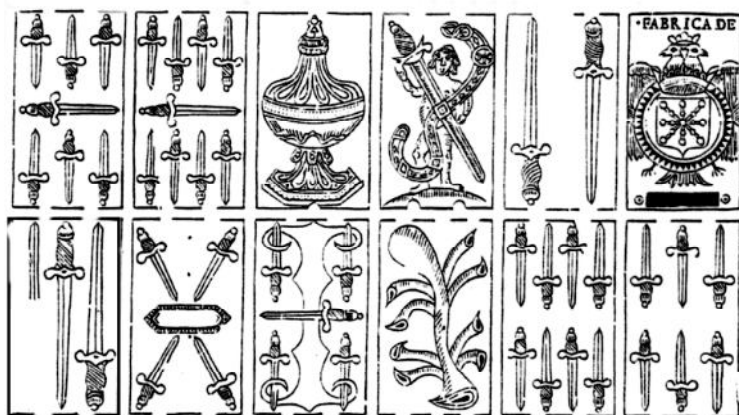
This is an indication that alquerque and marro were the same games over lines.

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<sup>223</sup> **KRUIJSWIJK, Karel Wendel** (1966b). Magazine Het Damspel, KNDB, p. 97.

<sup>224</sup> **DICCIONARIO HISTÓRICO DE LA LENGUA ESPAÑOLA** (1933-1936). Madrid. (Madrid 1979), Volumes 1 and 2.





A Spanish set of cards from the seventeenth century

In the drawing that we see here is a weapon of Marro figure used by the factory of cards. So we can form an idea about what this weapon looked like in the past.

#### 6.1.4 1630 Christoval Suarez de Figueroa

There is also an older edition of the **Plaza Universal** in 1615 of Christoval Suarez de Figueroa<sup>225</sup>. A book comparable to this one was written by François Pomey<sup>226</sup> which had several prints in various languages, among them one in Castilian, which discusses the game of checkers<sup>227</sup>.

<sup>225</sup> **SUAREZ DE FIGUEROA, Christoval** (1630). Plaza universal de todas ciencias y artes, parte traduzida de Toscano, y parte compuesta por el doctor Christoval Suarez Figueroa, Perpiñan.

<sup>226</sup> **POMEY, François** (1667). Indiculus Universalis, Lyon.

<sup>227</sup> **POMEY, François** (1705). Universo abreviado, Lyon. (Spanish translation of 1667, castellano-latin, francés. Traduit en Espagnol par F.T. Croset.

**Page 271: of the players in universal, and in particular. Speech LXVL**

p. 272: (...) Nuestros juegos de aora se dividen en pueriles, y de hombres. Los primeros son, *peonça, castillejo, trompico, el bote, de alfileres, pares ò nones, medio celemin, la onda, el falta tu, el pasiabarbado, la puente, la gallina ciega, y otros*. Los otros son *santomocarro, los ladrones, los cautivos, guarropa, el marro, velotto, chueca, las preguntas, la morra, la oca, el palillo, los Reyes: los naypes con que se juega a primera, cientos y quinolas; al quinze, al treynta, a la flor, capadillo, tenderete, baças, triunfo, bueltos, polla, reynado, barciga, parar, pintillas, carteta, al rentoi, al cuco, mataban, y otros*. Con la pelota se juega a la larga, a la cuerda, en la escalera, con la mano, con la pala, ò raqueta, ò con el braçal el valon. Iuegasse tambien el mallo, al castillo con la bala de ploma; al descarga el asno, la tablas reales, **a las damas, y ganapierde**, a las arenillas, y al ultimo al axedrez, obrando el Rey, la dama, los arfiles, los roques, los cavallos, y peones. Finalmente el libro del material atronado descubre galanamente los juegos de las vigiliass Seneses, que si agradaran, se podaran ver en su tratado. Lease acerca de los jugadores a Celio Rodiginio lb.10 de sus antiguass lecciones cap. 9 Celio Calcañino (Calcagnini) fol 287, 292. y 294 y Alexandro de Alexandro lib. 3.c.21 de sus Dias geniales. y a Pedro Crinito lib. 17.c.3. y lib. 24.c.14 de honesta disciplina.

**Loose translation:**

(...) one divides our current games into games for children and for adults. The first are *peonça, Castillejo, trompico, el bote, de alfileres, pares ò nones, medio celemin, la onda, el falta tu, el pasiabarbado, la puente, la gallina ciega*, and others. The others are *santomocarro, los ladrones, los cautivos, guarropa, el marro, velotto, chueca, las preguntas, la morra, la oca, el palillo, los Reyes*: the cardgames are: *a primera, cientos y quinolas; al quinze, al treynta, a la flor, capadillo, tenderete, baças, triunfo, bueltos, polla, reynado, barciga, parar, pintillas, carteta, al rentoi, al cuco, mataban*, and others. Games

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**POMEY, Francisco** (1724). El mundo abreviado, de el P. Francisco Pomey de la Compañia de Jesus: Traduzido antes en Italiano, Aleman, Ingles, y Flamenco, y agora nuevamente en Español. Enm Taller: en la Empronta del Nob. D. Pedro Borro, por Rafael Gelabert, años 1724, 8º, pp. 300.

played with the ball: *a la larga, a la cuerda, en la escalera, con la mano, con la pala, ò raqueta, ò con el braçal el valon*. More games to play are *el mallo, al castillo con la bala de ploma; al descarga el asno, la tablas reales, a las damas, y ganapierde* (Probably the giveaway game in checkers), *a las arenillas*, and finally chess, in which figure: the king, the lady (queen), the bishops, the towers, the horses, and the pawns. Finally in the book under outmoded matters we can see in a elegant way the games of Vigilias Seneses, which are included in this treatise. Concerning the players read *Celio Rodriginio* (Rodigino, 1516) book 10, chapter 9, pp. 287, 292, and 294 lectures about the antiquity *Celio Calcañino* (Calcaginini, 1512; Calcagnini, 1533; Calcagnini, 1538) and *Alexandro de Alexandro* (Alessandri, 1522) book 3, chapter 21 about his Dias geniales, and *Pedro Crinito's* book 17, chapter 3 and book 24, chapter 14 about honesta disciplina<sup>228</sup> (Crinito, 1504).

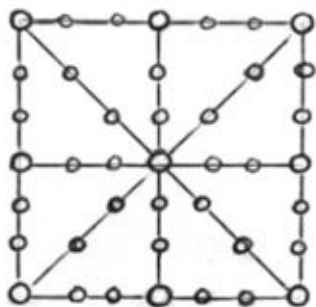
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<sup>228</sup> **CRINITO, Pedro** (1504). *Commentarii de honesta disciplina*, Florencia, 1504.

### 6.1.5 1688 Randle Holme

A comprehensive description of the weapons used by Marros from Navarre is found in Holme's book<sup>229</sup> (1688, Book I):

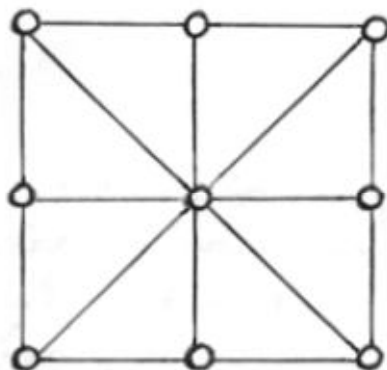
#### Chapter 7: image on page 66, 67 and description of page 77



No. 118

He beareth Argent, an Orle of Pellets chained, all fired to another in fesse Gyron-wise. This is born by the name of Nevaire. This is generally termed the Navarre Knot, being the Coat of that Kingdom; thus I have seen it drawn of old, but now it is otherwise, as you may see chap. 9, Nos. 32, 33.

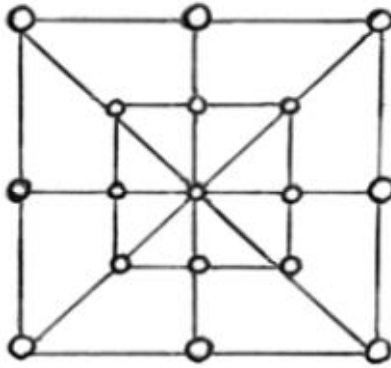
#### Chapter 9: image on pages 88, 89 and description on page 91



No. 32

He beareth Gales 9 Annulets linked to each other in form of a Gyron (or Gyron wise) Or, This by the French Blazoned no otherwise than he beareth Navarre as being the coat of that Kingdom: though others term it 8 Annulets in Orle, linked to another in the Center, and each other Gyron-wise. This Chained Gyron belongs to the Arms of the Kingdom of Navarre.

<sup>229</sup> HOLME, Randle (1688). The academy of armor, or, a storehouse of armory and blazon, (Reprint Menston 1972), Volume I.



No. 33

He beareth Gules, a Gordian Knott, or, else thus, a double Orle of Annulets linked to each other, and all to another in the Center, Gyron-Wise; or after the French, the Navarre Knot, or the double Knott of Navarre, being so born for the coat of Armour of that Kingdom.

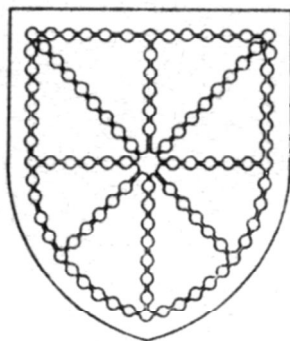
- Orle = pillow, signifying Rest, Quietness, and Content.  
 Annulett = a ring, the emblem of Unity, Friendship, and love to eternity.  
 Giron = a lap, or the space between the thighs called the groin; the emblem of Unity, Peace, and Concord.

### 6.1.6 1690 Antoine Furetière

Merelle =

Jeu qu'on jouë sur un tablier distingué par plusieurs lignes, avec des **dames** ou autres marques, dont il s'en doit trouver un certain nombre en ligne droite. Le jeu de la **merelle** n'a de lieu que parmi les escoliers. Il est fort ancien, et vient de **marcella** et **madrellum**, d'où on a fait aussi **mareau**, comme prouve fort bien Menage. En termes de Blason, on dit que les anciens Rois de Navarre depuis Sanche le Fort ont porté pour Armes des chaisnes merelées, qui representent des **merelles**, quoy que

plusiers Herauts les ayent prises pour des chaisnes et des rais d'escarboucle<sup>230</sup>.



The weapon of Navarre

**Loose translation:**

Moris =

Game played on a board divided along different lines, with checkers or other pieces of which one must find a certain amount on a straight line. This game of marro was played only by scholars. It is a very old game and comes from the words *marcella* and *madrellum*, from which derived the term *mareau*, as Menage firmly proves it. It is stated in the heraldry that the ancient kingdom of Navarre *Sancho el Fuerte* had chains in the shape of Marro's weapons, analogous to the game of marro (.....).

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<sup>230</sup> FURETIERE, Antoine (1690). Dictionaire Universel, Den Haag, (Paris, 1978)

### 6.1.7 1732 The Authorities' Dictionary

In the Authorities' Dictionary<sup>231</sup> of 1732 we find a child's game that is a lot like our game of marro de punta.

«**Marro.** Significa tambien un juego parecido al que llaman de Moros y Christianos, en que puestos dos bandos de una parte y otra encontrados, dexando suficiente campo en medio, salen de uno y otro à coger o tocar al contrario: y el arte consiste en huir el cuerpo el uno al otro, para que no le cojan ò toquen, retirándose a su bando, porque si le tocan queda prisionero, por lo que le dieron este nombre».

#### **Loose translation:**

«**Moris.** It is also like a game called Moors and Christians - Moros y Cristianos -, in which posts of both sides found either side, leaving enough room in between, going to either catch or touch the opponent, and its point is to run from each other so that they will not get caught or touched, retiring to his side, because if one gets touched, one becomes a prisoner, so it was given this name».

### 6.1.8 1759 M. De Sejourant

Marro = Espèce de jeu de boule, Lat. disci ludus<sup>232</sup>.

### 6.1.9 1786 J. Baretti

Marro = obs. want, a coit, or a game like coits<sup>233</sup>.

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<sup>231</sup> **DICCIONARIO DE AUTORIDADES** (1726-1737). Real Academia Española, Madrid. Reprint Editorial Gredos, Madrid 1984.

<sup>232</sup> **SEJOURNANT, M. de** (1759) Nouveau dictionnaire François - Espagnol. Composé sur les dictionnaires de Académies Royale de Madrid et de Paris.

<sup>233</sup> **BARETTI. J.** (1786). Diccionario Español e Inglés, London.

## 6.2 Marro transfers to the Chessboard

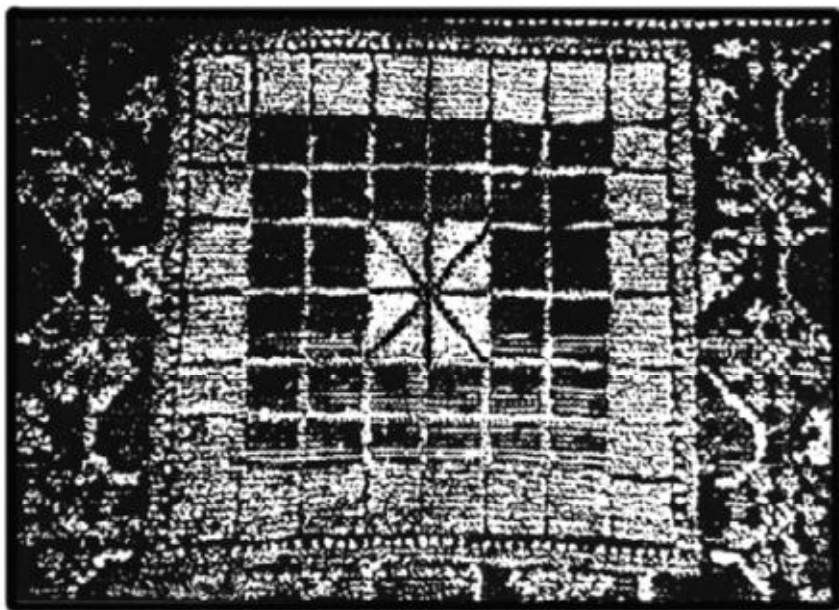
The moris transferred from the moris board to the chessboard, from which comes the first game of checkers, which for us is none other than the game of Spanish checkers. It is not so difficult to understand if you look at the illustration below in which there appears a silk rug which experts date to the fourteenth century. This rug is currently in possession of a textile expert in Hong Kong.

The game board found in the rug clearly has a moris pattern. This recently discovered rug was made public during the meeting of leading historians of chess in the Max Euwe Centrum in Amsterdam<sup>234</sup> (Whyld, 1993:1-9). Was it the shatranj?

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<sup>234</sup> **WHYLD, Ken** (1993). Chess Historians Meeting - Marked squares on the chaturanga board - Amsterdam.





Unknown game board in a silk rug

## 6.3 Conclusion

**Marro** was a Catalan name used for the game of pieces in the period from 1283 to 1700. Other historians often use the tile game expression, but this does not seem right to me. In Spain it was played with some kind of pawns.

In the kingdom of Aragon any boardgame out of the various games that could be played on a striped board was known as *Marro*. We can bring here the games of alquerque-3, alquerque-9, and alquerque-12, which are the equivalent names in Castilian for all the various *Marro* games.

A noteworthy fact is that in Alonso Guerra's manuscript from around 1595 he refers to Pedro Ruiz Montero by the nickname The Marro. This manuscript of Alonso Guerra<sup>235</sup> is in possession of the checkers player Victor Cantalapiedra Martín from Valladolid.

In Sicily, which belonged to the Kingdom of Aragon, was played a game called *Marella*<sup>236</sup> back then, which apparently was a game none other than andarraya practiced on lines or stripes, which would probably later be called just alquerque.

Marro was sometimes used to refer to the game of Marro de Punta (Checkers). Marro is just a generic name and does not allow defining a game. This wasn't taken into consideration by Pedro Ruiz Montero in his book title, but it was by Lorenzo

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<sup>235</sup> **GUERRA, Alonso** (1595/1658). Libro para jugar a las damas, compuesto por el Licenciado Alonso Guerra, natural de la Villa de Ossuna, en el Andaluzia. (written about 1595), Reduzido assimismo en este mesmo estilo por el dicho Ldo Don Diego de Argomedo. En este año de 1658.

<sup>236</sup> **CARRERA, Pietro** (1617). Il Gioco de gli Scacchi, millitello (Sicilia), pp. 32-37.

Valls, Antonio de Torquemada, and Juan de Timoneda. They all speak of Marro de Punta. The fact that Marro was used only by Pedro Ruiz Montero suggests that this was still the old name for the game of alquerque-12, as it is reflected by King Alfonso X the Wise. After the term Marro de Punta was used for a game of checkers on a lines board (checkerboard) and when it was moved to a chessboard, the name Marro de Punta was initially maintained until the new name *checkers* became really popular.

## 7 MARRO DE PUNTA

### 7.1 Theories about the term Marro de Punta

To present day this has been said about the term Marro de Punta:

#### 7.1.1 1912 Branch

**Marro de punta** = Merrils on the square, to distinguish from merrils on the line<sup>237</sup>.

#### 7.1.2 1913 Murray

I have noted the following terms for **the square of the board**:

L. 3-6 punctum, 4-5 punctus; 1-5 tabula; 4-5 domus, 4 dommus; 4 campus; casa, cassa; quadrus; locus; 4-6 sedes, 4 seddes; 5 quadra; pirga. It. 4-6 punto; 6-scacco, 6 schacco; 6-casa. Sp. 3 casa; 5-punto; 9 escaque; casella. Pg. 9 quadrado. Fr. 2-5 point, 4 poynt; 7- case; 5 querreure; 6 cellule. Eng. 4 pointe, 5-6 poynt; cheker, 9 chequer (rare); 7-8 house; 8-square. Ger. 3-feld, 4-5 veld, 5 velt. Du. veld. Ic. 7- reitur. Sw. rutor, schackruta, fält. Cz. pole. Pol. kratka. Hun. negyszögör, koczka<sup>238</sup>.

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<sup>237</sup> **BRANCH, William Shelley** (1911). The history of checkers from the earliest known date. Its evolution and growth, Cheltenham, England. Written for Pittsburg Leader between October 8, 1911 - April 14, 1912.

<sup>238</sup> **MURRAY, Harold James Ruthven** (1913). A history of chess, Oxford, p. 399.

### 7.1.3 1952 Murray

I have already shown that the chequered chessboard invited the transfer of other games on lined boards to the cells of one colour on the chessboard<sup>239</sup>. This view is supported by the use of *marella* for draughts in Sicily<sup>240</sup> and of *Marro de punta* in Catalonia and Spain, which survived in vulgar use until as late as 1650<sup>241</sup>.

### 7.1.4 Kruijswijk

In middeleeuws Latijn werd de bordruit (van het schaakbord) en het bordpunt (van het lijnenbord) met diverse termen aangeduid, t.w. **punctus, punctum, tabula, domus, campus, casa, quadrus, locus en sedes**. Van al deze termen waren **punctus** (met als meervoud **puncti**) en **punctum** (met als meervoud **puncta**) het meest verbreid. De Spaanse vorm **punta** (meervoud) is afkomstig uit het Catalaanse taalgebied en niet uit het Kastiliaans-Spaans, waarin de voorkeur is uitgegaan naar de term *casa*. Het Spaanse damspel is tot ontwikkeling en bloei gekomen in het Catalaanse taalgebied met Valencia als centrum. Aangezien het alquerquebord, dat is samengesteld uit vier kleine molenborden, als een gecompliceerd molenbord werd beschouwd, viel het alquerque-spel onder de verzamelnaam van de molenspelen, die in het Catalaanse taalgebied **marro** werden

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<sup>239</sup> MURRAY, Harold James Ruthven. (1952) A history of Board-games other than chess, Oxford, p. 75.

<sup>240</sup> CARRERA, Pietro (1617). Il Gioco de gli Scacchi, millitello (Sicilia), pp. 36.

<sup>241</sup> GARCIA CANALEJAS, Juan (1650). Libro del Jugo de las Damas, Zaragoza.

genoemd. Dit waren louter lijnenbordspelen, zodat de toevoeging **de punta** betrekking moet hebben op de ruiten van het schaakbord en niet op de punten van het lijnenbord. Dienovereenkomstig moet de damspelbenaming *marro de punta* letterlijk betekenen: molenbordspel op ruiten. Als synoniem van *damas* kan hiermee niet anders bedoeld zijn dat het tot damspel getransformeerde alquerque spel op de velden van het Europese schaakbord<sup>242</sup>.

### **Loose translation:**

In Medieval Latin it was indicated with the term *box board* (chessboard) and the intersection (of the panel lines) with various terms, namely *punctus*, *punctum*, *tabula*, *domus*, *campus*, *house*, *Quadrus*, *locus in offices*. Of all these terms *punctus* (in plural *Puncti*) and *punctum* (in plural *puncta*) were the most common. The Spanish spelling *punta* is native to the region of the Catalan language and not of the Castilian regional use where *house* was the preferred term. The game of checkers in Spain developed and flourished in the Catalan linguistic region with Valencia as his center. As the board of alquerque (of 12), consisting of four panels of alquerque of 3, was considered a complex board of alquerque, the game of alquerque (of 12) was cataloged under the collective name games of alquerque and, in the Catalan linguistic region, under the collective name of *marro*. These were only boards of lines, but the addition of the expression *de punta* should refer to the squares of chess and not to the point of lines of the board. Thus the name of *marro de punta* literally meant alquerque game on squares.

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<sup>242</sup> KRUIJSWIJK, Karel Wendel (1966b). Magazine Het Damspel, KNDB, p. 53.

The synonym of damas is thus nothing else than the alquerque game transformed to checkers on the squares of the European chessboard.

### 7.1.5 1981 Dr. A. van der Stoep

Punto meant square of the chessboard, so *Marro de punta* may be interpreted literally as alquerque on a chequered board<sup>243</sup>.

## 7.2 De Punta means diagonally

In 1993 I proposed to Rob Jansen to conduct a study on the meaning of the *Marro de Punta* proposition. At first Jansen said that they knew enough about the meaning of these words. Fortunately he later agreed with my idea of looking for more and the data he obtained were instrumental in breaking down traditional theories of the afore-mentioned historians. Even in 1993 after gathering some data Jansen already wondered if it was not more logical to translate the word *punta* (in *Marro de Punta*) by the idea above angle or angle above cusps or something similar. In the game of alquerque you can move in all directions in contrast to the new *Marro de Punta* where the pieces only move diagonally forward.

Later Jansen perceived in the words *Marro de Punta* a sense of a hobby played above points of the intersection, but I found that description too limited, because the game of alquerque of 12 was also played on intersection points (of lines). My opinion was that *Marro de Punta* had to be something different from all the games of alquerque or marro. I liked more his other idea of a diagonal game. While it was taking as a starting point the fact

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<sup>243</sup> STOEP, Arie van der (1984). A history of draughts, Rockanje, p. 81.

that all games of Marro, including Marro de Punta, were hobbies where they played on lines and intersections, the words de punta seem to me to refer to a game in diagonal direction. But at that time we had no documentary evidence that could test our hypothesis true. This possibility could finally be checked with Jansen's discovery of a Catalan translation in the fifteenth century of the famous chess book of Jacobus de Cessolis! De punta did not mean anything other than diagonal. Here we have a proof that the Spanish checkers game of Marro de Punta had terms that were also daily used in the Spanish world of chess!

### 7.2.1 Etymology of the word Marro

For more information about the etymology of this word we refer to the chapter on marro of the outstanding book of checkers history by Dr. A. Van der Stoep<sup>244</sup>.

### 7.2.2 The etymology of Punta and Punto

In current Castilian we know two words that sound almost the same: *punto en punta*.

Most people are likely to translate the word *punta* within the group of words *marro de punta* as the Latin word *punctum* and reflect it later as the checkers game on boxes or squares. But we have in Castilian two almost identical terms and that's why the game of marro de punta deserves more detailed explanation.

#### 7.2.2.1 Punto

**Punto** derived from the Latin word *punctum* and means extreme. The first evidence of this word is found in the time of

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<sup>244</sup> STOEP, Arie van der (1984). A history of draughts, Rockanje, pp. 160, 164, 165.



"El Cid" in the eleventh century<sup>245</sup>. But the dictionary of the great Antonio de Nebrija<sup>246</sup> says little about the word punto and more about the word punta.

### 7.2.2.2 Punta

**Punta** is a Spanish word, also born in the eleventh century and means among other things the end of something, especially if it is sharp. It also means tip, peak, the point of a bayonet<sup>247</sup>. In the dictionary of Antonio de Nebrija<sup>248</sup> we found tip, acute thing. We also can't ignore that punta is used as an end point formed by an angle (Dictionary of Authorities, 1732). In Castilian *de punta a punta* loosely translated means from end to end. It should be known that punta figuratively means the same as acuity<sup>249</sup>. Then we also understand the term *quick wit*. The best explanation of the word punta is:

«By extensión is the end of something that ends forming an angle: as the tip of the toe, the tip of the bench. Lat. Cuspis, Angulus<sup>250</sup>». (Dictionary of Authorities, 1732)

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<sup>245</sup> **COROMINAS, J. Y PASCUAL, J.A.** (1989). Diccionario crítico etimológico castellano e hispánico, Madrid.

<sup>246</sup> **NEBRIJA, Antonio de** (1495). Dictionarium hispano-latinum, Salamanca. (reprint in 1951 by the Real Academia Española -Diccionario Romance (Spanish) in Latin. There seem to be editions of: 1494? Evora; 1503 Sevilla; 1506 Paris and 1513 in Madrid.

<sup>247</sup> **COROMINAS, J. Y PASCUAL, J.A.** (1989). Diccionario crítico etimológico castellano e hispánico, Madrid.

<sup>248</sup> **NEBRIJA, Antonio de** (1495). Dictionarium hispano-latinum, Salamanca. (reprint in 1951 by the Real Academia Española -Diccionario Romance (Spanish) in Latin. There seem to be editions of: 1494? Evora; 1503 Sevilla; 1506 Paris and 1513 in Madrid.

<sup>249</sup> **GRAN DICCIONARIO DE SINONIMOS Y ANTONIMOS** (1989). Espasa-Calpe, Madrid.

<sup>250</sup> **DICCIONARIO DE AUTORIDADES** (1726-1737). Real Academia Española, Madrid. Reprint Editorial Gredos, Madrid 1984.

## 7.2.3 The Spanish chess literature before 1500

If the books of checkers do not clarify what the term Marro de Punta means, then the chess books before the fifteenth century must give us the solution and so we have carefully studied the Valencian word punt and Spanish words punto, postpunta, and punta.

### 7.2.3.1 Punt

This Valencian Word is contained in the manuscript of Scachs d'amor<sup>251</sup>, written by Narcís Vinyoles around 1475, as we see:

Lo Rey juga hun punt lo seu Peó.

(Castilian: The King moves a point [step])

**Juga lo Cavall de Dama a dos puts de Dama** (read puts = punts)

(Castilian: Play the horse of lady at two points of the lady)

**Lo Rey se cobre del Cavall, a dos punts de Dama**

(Castilian: The King covers of the horse, at two points of Lady)

*Paluzie and Lucena*<sup>252</sup> wrote extensively on this manuscript. It was also addressed by *Miquel and Planas*<sup>253</sup> and *Ribelles*<sup>254</sup> (1915: 275-297).

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<sup>251</sup> **VINYOLES, Narcís** (1475). Escacs d'amor, Valencia; Edición de Antonio Ferrando Francés, Universitat de València, Facultat de Filologia, Narcís Vinyoles i la seua obra, Valencia, 1978.

<sup>252</sup> **PALUZIE Y LUCENA, José** (1912). Notice sur un Manuscrit en langue catalane existant à l'Archive du Palais à Barcelone. In: La Stratégie, Paris, 45e vol., 46e année, N° 4, avril 1912, 121-123.



Narcís Vinyoles as a woodcut of 1497

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**PALUZIE Y LUCENA, José** (1912). Eine neue Schachhandschrift, Deutsche Wochenschach, 28. Jg., 1912, N° 21, 26. Mai 1912. p.189.

**PALUZIE Y LUCENA, José** (1912). Primer ensayo de bibliografía Española de ajedrez, Barcelona 1912, p. 8-11.

**PALUZIE Y LUCENA, José** (1912). Manual del ajedrez para uso de los principiantes, vol.. III.

**PALUZIE Y LUCENA, José** (1921). Bibliografía Española de ajedrez. Vol. III, p. 249-285.

<sup>253</sup> **MIQUEL Y PLANAS, Ramón** (1911-1914). Escacs d'Amor. Poema inèdit del XV.èn segle. In: Bibliofilia. Recull d'estudis, observacions, comentaris y noticies sobre llibres en general y sobre quèstions de llengua y literatura catalanes en particular. Volume I, pp. 413-440.

<sup>254</sup> **RIBELLES COMIN, José** (1915). Bibliografía de la lengua Valenciana. "Scachs d'amor, feta per Don Françi de Castelui e Narçis Vinyoles e Mossen Fenolar, Madrid. Nachdruck Nendeln 1969.

The Valencian word (Aragon) **punt** then also had the meaning of box in the tenth century. But had this also been the case before that date? It seemed much more likely that the word **punt** was used for intersections that were formed to play the game on a board of lines.



**The Alquerque-12 Game in 1283**

In the adjacent image we can see the Alquerque-12 board where little squares are shown (meaning points); over them the pawns were placed and their movement happened.

No matter what it actually was, the translation for the Catalan and Valencian word *punt* into Spanish is still *punto* (point) and not *punta* (tip).

### 7.2.3.2 Point (Punto)

This word was used in Lucena's chess book<sup>255</sup> (1497) and in this case its meaning was not referring to *box* or *square*, since for such purpose the word was *house* (Sp. *casa*), but meaning point (In Latin *punctum*).

On the other hand, in the old Valencian text *Scachs d'amor* we can see how the Catalan Word *punt* was used to mean box or square. It must be said that in the fifteenth century people from Catalonia spoke Catalan as well as people from Valencia and the Balearic Islands. Today the Valencian language is different, but its differences from the Catalan tongue are very few. Going back to the Catalan word *punt*, its meaning in Castile is also point and not tip.

That is the reason why when referring to the squares *Marro de punto* (Alquerque) was the expected term and not *Marro de punta*, the term that we know. Many historians say that Alquerque is nothing but a checkers game over boxes, as the chessboard. But it seems that for etymological reasons there are clear differences, because if not, the name of the game would be *Marro de punto*.

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<sup>255</sup> LUCENA (1497). Repetición de amores e arte de Axedres con CL Juegos de Partido. Salamanca. Edición J.M. de Cossio, Madrid 1953.

### 7.2.3.3 Postpunta

In the book by *Alfonso X The Wise* (1283/1987) the orbit of action and the movements of the different chess pieces are shown in a separate chapter and the word *postpunta* is used, referring to the bishop's movement.



Repetición: de amo  
res: Carte de apore  
con. El. juegos de  
partido.

Diagram with one point in a white box – from Lucena's chess book of 1497

Los alfiles saltan a tres casas en pospunta a semejança de los elefantes que traíen entonce los reyes,...

**Loose translation:**

- The bishops jumping over three squares go in oblique direction, like the elephants, which were brought by the Kings,

.....



**King Alfonso X The Wise**

**Also here (Alfonso, 1283/1987:245)**

E si tomando las casas firiere el uno al otro una tabla o más, dévelas tornar, no a la quadra quel está en derecho ni a la casa quel está de lado, más a la quel está en pospunta e desque las metiere en esta quadra,...

**Loose translation:**

And when at jumping over squares, one player captures one or more pieces, he should capture the conquest pieces, not over straight squares, nor over lateral squares, but over the opposite oblique squares.

Here we can see a clear difference between the words houses or *quadrads* (both meaning boxes) and the word *pospunta* that can be loosely translated as obliquely up angle or in oblique up direction.



Book by Alfonso X The Wise, 1283

## 7.2.4 Foreign expressions related to ‘Tip’

The Spanish expressions *pospunta* or *postpunta* are the closest in meaning to the word tip. *Postpunta* dates from 1283. Therefore in order to obtain a better conception of *postpunta*, as well as *punta* it is worth focusing on other medieval translations related to chess literature written overseas.

### 7.2.4.1 German translations

Two texts from medieval German translations are shown below:



### **Vom Gange der Alten**

“Es ist auch tzw wissen, dat die alden allzeit vom dem dritten veld auf das dritt gen schüllen auf dem schachtzabel, vber ekk; der weisz ald auf weizzen veldern vnd der swartz ald auf swartzen veldern. Und ir gankch vber ekch pedäwtt, da sy sicherhait in iren gengen haben schüllen<sup>256</sup>”.

### **Loose translation:**

#### **About the movement of the former bishops.**

It must also be noted that the old bishops moved on the chessboard diagonally from their own square to the third square; the White bishops through the White squares and the Black bishops through the black squares. Their diagonal movement means they shine while moving forward safely.

### **Meister Ingold**

"des alten gang ist an dat dritt feld und nit ferrer, und das selb soll seyn uber die spicz<sup>257</sup>". (spitz)

### **Loose translation:**

The old movement is to the third square without going any farther, over the angles (diagonally).

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<sup>256</sup> **SCHMIDT, G.F.** (1961). Das Schachzabelbuch des Jacobus de Cessolis. (G.F Schmidt, O.P. Berlin), p. 122.

<sup>257</sup> **MASSMANN, H.F.** (1839). Geschichte des mittelalterlichen vorzugsweise des deutschen Schachspieles, Quedlinburg und Leipzig, 1839. Leipzig, 1983, p. 140.

From a thesis by G.H. v. Schaick Avelingh<sup>258</sup> dated 1912 we take three references about the diagonal direction of chess pieces. This thesis is a Dutch translation from Jacobus de Cessolis taken from a manuscript printed in 1473 in Utrecht with the title:

*Liber de moribus hominum et officiis nobilium ac Popularium super ludo scacchorum.*

#### **7.2.4.2 1912 Dat Scaecspel**

##### **- Over de Loper: (p. 41)**

"Hier omme is dattie rechter oude, als hi eerst wtgaet, soe mach hi van zinen eygenen velde overhoec, aen die rechter zyde, op dat derde velt, voor den ackerman gaen staen".

##### **Loose Translation:**

##### **About the Bishop**

And that is why the former bishop from the right side must take place from its own square first, diagonally, to the right, in the third square and in front of the pawn.

##### **- Over de toren: (p. 93)**

So moghen si over alle, recht als een coninc dat rijc door riden ende also wel op een wit velt, als op een zwert velt gaen staen. Ende is datsi midden int velt staen, so moghen si recht wt voorwaerder of after werder aen die lüfter zijde of aen die rechter zijde gaen, mer nemmermeer over hoec.

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<sup>258</sup> **SCHAICK AVELINGH, G.H. V.** (1912). Dat Scaecspel, Leiden.

## **Loose Translation:**

### **- About the Rook:**

They can move widely in a straight line, like a King through the kingdom, taking place in a white or a black square as well. And if they are in the middle of the board, they can move vertically forward or backward; horizontally, to the left, or to the right, but never in a diagonal way.

### **- Over de pionnen: (p. 159/160)**

Altoos zullen si recht wt gaen zonder wederkeren, het en si, dat van horen vianden hem enich moetedē, die horen heer of hem scaden wilden. Die zullen si over hoecke vangen of dootslaen.

## **Loose Translation:**

### **About the Pawns:**

They always have to move vertically without going back, except when they face their enemies wanting to harm them. These must be captured diagonally or killed.

An English translation from 1475 gives us the following information:

#### **The yssuyngē of the Alphyn (Caxton, 1474)**

“And ye shall understande that the alphyn goth alleway cornerwyse frō the thirde poynt to the thirde poynt kepyngē all way his owne siege/ For yf he be black/ he goth all way black / and yf he be whyte he goth alleway whyte. The yssue or goyngē cornerly or angularly signefieth cautele or subtylte/ which iuges ought to haue”.

With this text it makes sense to translate the game of Marro de Punta with special reference to the words "diagonal" or "over cusps". In alquerque of 12 one can move in all directions,

contrary to the new game of Marro de Punta, in which pawns can only move diagonally.

For the damista nation of Friesland it is also interesting to know that the words *Overhoeks* (Diagonal) and *over allen* (Above all ....) come from medieval times.



**Jacobus de Cessolis**

The most splendid proof was undoubtedly the source found by Rob Jansen in 1995, which contains the words *de punta*. This was the case of a fifteenth-century Catalan translation of a Latin chess manuscript made by Jacobus de Cessolis<sup>259</sup>. (Bofarull, 1902):

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<sup>259</sup> **BOFARULL, Emmanuel de** (1902). *Libre de Bones Costumes dels Homens e dels Oficis dels Nobles. Sermó d'en Janne Cessulis. En Lati preycat, sobre lo joch dels Scachs trelladat en lo XV en Segle a la lenga Catalana. Segons un MS de la Catadral de Girona, transcrit per Enmanuel de Bofarull, Barcelona.*

### 7.2.4.3 1902 Bofarull

p. 111 **Del moviment dels pehons:**

(.....), aquel poden prendre de punta, per ço com aquells adversaris los contrasten

#### **Loose translation:**

(...) they could capture "de punta –as a tip-" (oblique), because for that their adversaries contrast them

p. 111 **Del moviment dels Rochs:**

(.....) E sabedora cosa es que los Rochs null temps no van de punta, mas de plà, (sia que davant vagen o que se-n tornen)

#### **Loose translation:**

(...) It is known that towers cannot move as a tip (oblique), but in a straight line (either to go forward or backward)

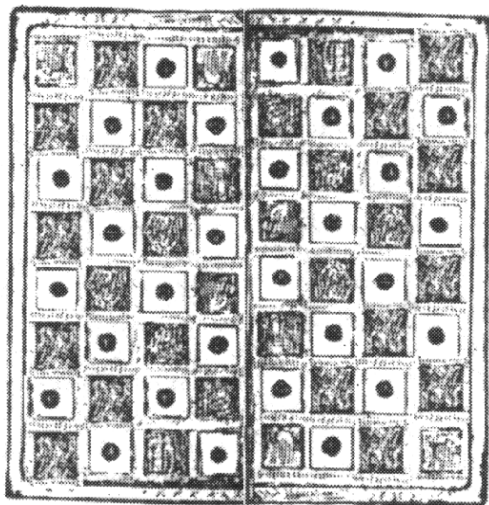
## 7.2.5 Points, intersections, and crosses

There are other references about *points*, which should be talked about here. Including those found in the image of the chess-tables board<sup>260</sup>. This board from the sixteenth century is exposed in the museum of industrial art in Vienna. Here we can find *points* in the white squares. Apparently in those days not only in Spain but also in other countries it was mainly played on white squares for reasons of lack of light. It's only from the nineteenth century that this rule was changed to playing in the

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<sup>260</sup> STOEP, Arie van der (1984). A history of draughts, Rockanje, p. 40.

black boxes, so it can be justified that in some countries the long diagonal is on the right side of the board while in other countries it's on the left.



Chess/tables board XVI century

Even today we find in Spain an ornately decorated board of chess or draughts where there are, in the beautiful white squares, some decorated *points*, which occupy at least 30% of the white boxes.

Different game boards are described in the work of Burckhardt<sup>261</sup>, Wichmann<sup>262</sup>, Himmelheber<sup>263</sup>, Schürmann<sup>264</sup>,

<sup>261</sup> **BURCKHARDT, Albert** (1893). Das Spiel im deutschen Mittelalter und die Spielbretter und Brettsteine des historischen Museums zu Basel - Jahresberichte und Rechnungen (des) Verein(s) für die Mittelalterliche Sammlung und für Erhaltung Baslerischer Altertümer. Jahr 1892 - (pp. 20-37), Basel.

<sup>262</sup> **WICHMANN, Hand & Siegfried** (1960). Ursprung und Wandlung der Spielfigur in zwölf Jahrhunderten, München.

<sup>263</sup> **HIMMELHEBER, Georg** (1972). Spiele, Gesellschaftsspiele aus einem Jahrtausend, editie Deutscher Kunstverlag 1972. München. (Catalogus van het Bayerischen Nationalmuseums te München).

and Wilckens<sup>265</sup>. On the other things, going back to the Vienna board it seems that the great diagonal is to the left for the white boxes and to the right for the black boxes.

Therefore it seems that the ladies - queens - were played with the big diagonal to the left. But as mentioned above, the *points* only refer to the diagonal direction of Marro de punta. If the points really had to do with the squares, then the game should have been called Marro de punta.

What are the odds that can be in a game that uses the expression *punta - tip*?

1. With the game of Marro de punta it was intended to describe a game where acute points were used in the direction of intersection points.
2. The game of Marro de punta was used to refer to a game, in which the direction was diagonal (towards an end).
3. Marro de punta wanted to express a reference to a game with the generic name Marro in the sense of ingenuity acuteness.

As the term *ingenuity* is found in the title of the first book of checkers, it is logical to assume that the term *punta* (tip) did not refer to the acuteness. So we are only left with the first two possibilities.

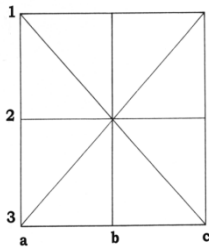
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**HIMMELHEBER, Georg & SCHNEIDER, Ulrich** (1988). Ausstellungskatalog. Die Spiele des Bayerischen Nationalmuseums in München und des Germanischen Nationalmuseums in Nürnberg.

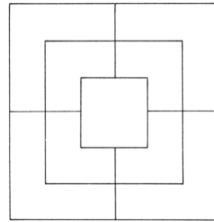
<sup>264</sup> **SCHÜRMANN, Hans & NÜSCHELER, Manfred** (1980). So gewinnt man Mühle. Ravensburg.

<sup>265</sup> **WILCKENS, L. Von** (1985). Spiel, Spiele, Kinderspiel. Katalog Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nürnberg.

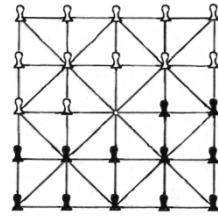
**WILCKENS, L. Von** (1986). Spiel, Spiele, Kinderspiel. Neurenberg.



**Alquerque 3**



**Alquerque 9**



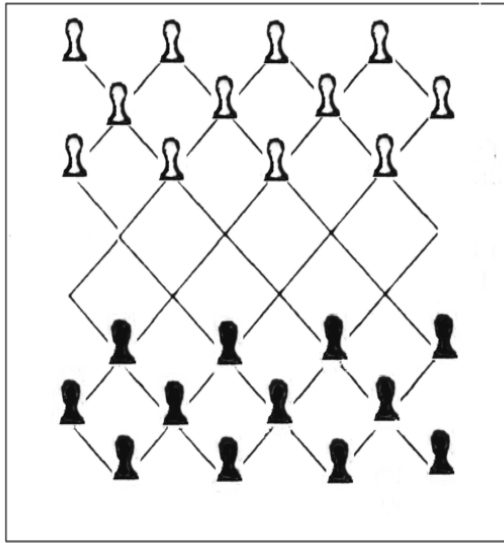
**Alquerque-12**

But were there any games that had to do with acute *points* in the late sixteenth century? Well, yes, they really existed! Different alquerque games were played, which were already described in the book of *Alfonso X The Wise*: Alquerque of three, alquerque of nine, and alquerque of twelve.

### **7.2.5.1 Andarraya**

But then there was another game that was played over stripes and with acute *points* - andarraya. Also, in this game a pawn was placed in the four corners of a certain stripe within the same board and at the two ends when the pawns were on the verge of it. But with the term Marro de punta they wanted to reflect a game played differently than other alquerque games. Therefore playing in *acute points* or *intersection points* could never have been a complete reflection of the game of Marro de punta. Then it's appropriate to think that this is a game of diagonal direction.





**Andarraya**

More interesting and much more logical seems the board of Jan van Leiden<sup>266</sup> which apparently dates back around the year 1500<sup>267</sup>. Here the term of the board game Marro de Punta is more detailed. We see on the board, left and right, the real meaning of the fact explained earlier that four stripes in the game of andarraya formed the end on which was then placed a pawn. These crosses indicated the diagonal direction on the chessboard, as also happened in the game of andarraya.

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<sup>266</sup> **BAKKER, Gerard** (1984). *Draughts Magazine Het Nieuwe Damspel*, Utrecht, p. 17.

<sup>267</sup> **GEISBERG, Max** (1937). *Die Stadt Münster, Münster*. Volume 5, p. 189.

**KREISEL, Heinrich** (1968). *Die Kunst des deutschen Möbels*, München, p. 36.

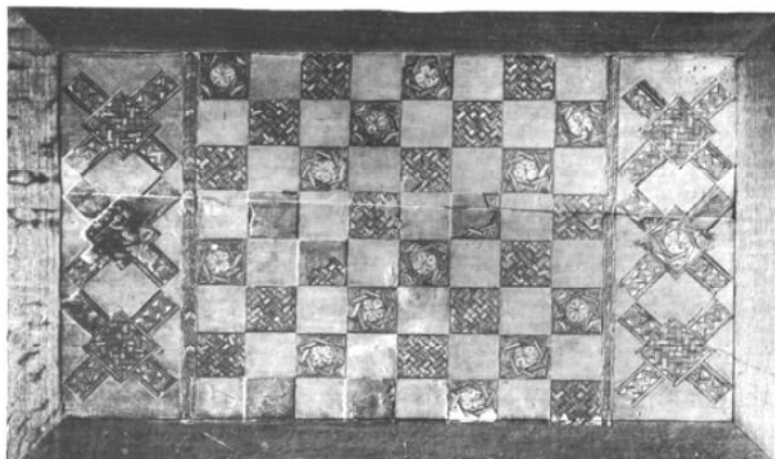


**Jan van Leiden**

#### **7.2.5.2 Jan van Leiden**

Jan van Leiden (February 2, 1509 – January 22, 1536), was an Anabaptist leader from Leiden, in the Holy Roman Empire's County of Holland. In 1533 he moved to Münster, the capital city of the Holy Roman Empire's Prince-Bishopric of Münster, where he became an influential prophet and a leader of the Münster Rebellion. In 1535, the insurrection was suppressed after a siege of the fortified city, and John was captured, tortured and executed.

It seems as if they wanted to indicate on this board of Jan van Leiden that this was the new game of andarraya and that it could now be played on a chessboard, instead of the old board of stripes. It is curious that here not all boxes have points and that the black squares already have the right diagonal, as in the Spanish game of checkers.



**Checkerboard Jan van Leiden**

We get a much better understanding of the ancient game of andarraya transferred to a chessboard, if we look at the Checkerboard of 1724<sup>268</sup>.

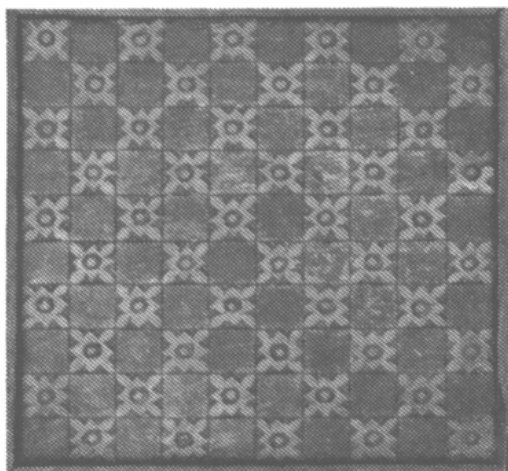
If we forget that this is a board of 100 squares, we understand immediately what the game of andarraya was like in antiquity. Also in this panel we see the progress of the parts and have a game of streaks. Moreover, here the boxes where we play are white with dots, and the great diagonal is on the right, as in the Spanish game. A characteristic of this game is that if we ignore the stripes, we are left with the points in the boxes; that is the case of the chessboard of Vienna mentioned earlier<sup>269</sup>.

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<sup>268</sup> **BAKKER, Gerard** (1985). *Draughts Magazine Het Nieuwe Damspel*, Utrecht, p. 71.

<sup>269</sup> **STOEP, Arie van der** (1984). *A history of draughts*, Rockanje, p. 40.

The term andarraya was already known in Castilla in the fifteenth century, but in the same century we can't find any information in the crown of Aragon about the game of Marro de punta. This happens in the sixteenth century. Therefore it remains a mystery whether the game of andarraya<sup>270</sup>, is played in 1495 on the same board of lines and then obtains the name of Marro de Punta, or if the chessboard was used for the game of andarraya, receiving the name Marro de Punta.



**Frisian checkerboard of 1724**

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<sup>270</sup> **NEBRIJA, Antonio de** (1495) Dictionarium hispano-latinum, Salamanca. (reprint in 1951 by the Real Academia Española. Diccionario Romance (Spanish) to latin. We know editions of this book of the years: 1492 Salamanca, 1494? Evora; 1503 Sevilla; 1506 Paris and 1513 in Madrid.

Andarraia

Calculorum ludus **NOVUM**

Dama es casi señora

Domina-ae **NOVUM**

**WESTERVELD, Govert** (1992). Draughts Magazine *Het Nieuwe Damspel*, Utrecht, p. 38.

At the moment I take the hypothesis that Marro de Punta initially had the same diagonal line board as the game of andarraya.



**Elio Antonio de Nebrija**

An image of the sixteenth century is preserved of the famous Elio Antonio de Nebrija, who in his 1495 dictionary cites the term game of andarraya with NOVUM (new).

Maybe it's a coincidence that we find a nuanced floor in the adjacent image and that above them appear drawings of crosses in diagonal direction. Maybe it was something that was used in those years.

Nebrija (1444-1522) was a prominent Spanish humanist who was appointed professor of the Latin language at the University of Salamanca and later in Alcalá de Henares. He was the author of several dictionaries unmatched by any of his contemporaries.

### 7.3 Spanish books with the term of Marro de punta

**Spanish** books on checkers bearing the term Marro de Punta come from the following authors: Antonio de Torquemada<sup>271</sup>, Juan de Timoneda<sup>272</sup>, and Lorenzo Valls<sup>273</sup>. It is curious that the book of checkers of Pedro Ruiz Montero<sup>274</sup> only carries the term of Marro, which is otherwise proof that the checkers game originated from the game of Marro. The game of Marro was the Aragonese name for the Castilian game of alquerque. The checkers game described in these books is played on a chessboard

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<sup>271</sup> **TORQUEMADA, Antonio de** (1547). El ingenio, ò juego de Marro, de punta, ò Damas. Valencia. (Lost book).

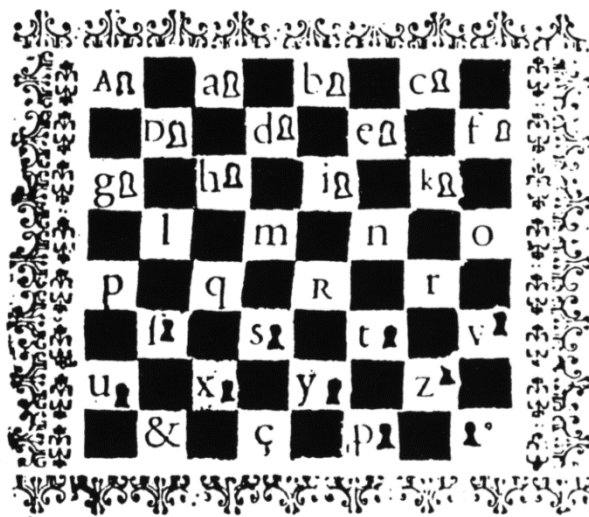
<sup>272</sup> **TIMONEDA, Juan** (1635) Libro llamado Ingenio, el cual trata del Juego del Marro de punta", hecho por Juan de Timoneda, Dedicado al Mv magnifico Señor don Ynnigo de Losca Capitan en las Galeras de España. Al qual se han annadido ocho trechas de mucha primor, por Antonio Miron y del Castillo, Tolosa.

<sup>273</sup> **VALLS, Lorenzo** (1597). Libro del Juego de las Damas, por otro nombre el Marro de Punta, Valencia. - (Biblioteca del Palacio, Madrid).

<sup>274</sup> **RUIZ MONTERO, Pedro** (1591). Libro del Juego de las Damas, vulgarmente nombrado el marro, Valencia.

## 7.4 The pieces in marro de punta

In the game of **Marro de Punta** the same pieces were employed as those of **Alquerque** of 12. They were called *trebejos* at the time of King Alfonso X the Wise. As The King indicated at that time, the pieces were similar to the pawns in chess. The same pieces were employed in **Marro de Punta**, but instead of *trebejo* the word **Pawn** was used. The name of the chess piece was used in this way in **Marro the Punta** in Spain.



Initial Position in the Juan de Timoneda's Checkers book, 1635

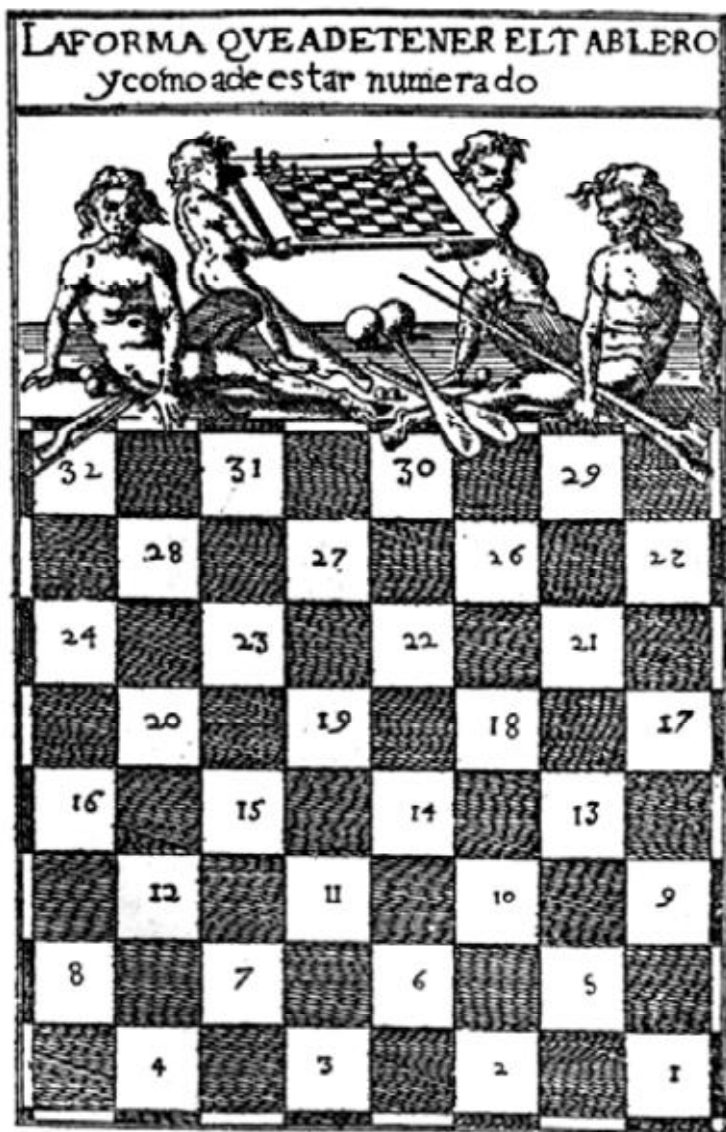
In Juan de Timoneda's book from 1550 or even earlier there are many checkers diagrams. In one of them we can see the initial position of the pieces or pawns. Contrary to what happened in other countries of Spain's, the game was played with pawns for a long time. Proof of that are the various dictionaries as well as

an illustration which can be found in the Checkers Game Book by Joseph Carlos Garcez<sup>275</sup> from 1684. For how long these chess pieces were used to play checkers in Spain is still a mystery. The pawns were probably used until 1700 on the alquerque board and the chessboard as well to play checkers. The French influence over the use of chips came gradually and I suppose it was crucial from 1700. Whatever the process was, in Spanish checkers literature the name for the chip is Pawn.

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<sup>275</sup> **GARCEZ, Joseph Carlos** (1684). Libro nuevo, Juego de damas - Madrid.





Pawns used in The Checkers Game Book by Joseph Carlos Garcez, 1684.

# LIBRO DEL IVEGO DELAS DAMAS, POR OTRO NOM- BRE EL MARRO DE PVNTA, diuidido en tres tratados.

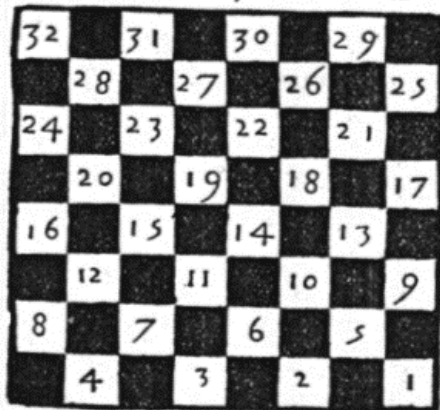
El primero contiene en si 17. tretas con sus lances no uislas hasta hoy.

El segundo, contiene en si once tretas con sus lances, para contra quien sabe el li-  
bro que compuso Pedro Ruiz Montero, porque en qualquier parte lo juegan,  
y se puede ganar con mucha facilidad.

El tercero, trata como se ha de jugar dama contra dama, cõtiene en si 22. tretas  
con sus lances.

Con un lance a la postre que Pedro Ruiz Montero lo da por ganado en su libro  
y es tabla forçosa.

Compuesto por Lorenzo Valls vezino de la ciudad  
de Alicante en el reyno de Valencia.



CON LICENCIA.

Impresso en Valencia en casa de Pedro Patricio. Año 1597.  
A costa de Angelo Tebago.

Checkers Book by Lorenzo Valls, 1597

LIBRO  
LLAMADO  
INGENIO, EL

QVAL TRATA DEL  
luego del Marro de punta,  
hecho por Iuan Timoneda.

DEDICADO AL MVY  
*magnifico Senñor don YNNICO*  
*de LOSCA Capitan en las*  
*Galeras de España.*

AL QVAL SE HAN ANNADIDO  
ocho trechas de mucha primor, por  
Antonio Miron y del Castillo.



EN TOLOSA,

En Casa de IVAN BOVDE, Impressor ordinario  
de su Majestad. 1635

Checkers Book by Juan de Timoneda, 1635

The pieces in the different checkers games: andarraia, alquerque, and checkers resulted in a great deal of confusion overseas, since the translated name given to it was Chess.

For instance, we see in the Arnaldo de la Porte dictionary<sup>276</sup>:

<b>Spanish:</b>	<b>Flemish:</b>
Axedrez	schaek-spel
Alquerque	schaek-spel (it is translated as Chess too)
Andaraia	seker schaek-spel (certain Chess game)

<b>Flemish:</b>	<b>Spanish:</b>
Schaek-schijve	pieça de alquerque (Flemish: Chess piece)
Damespel	juego de axedres o de damas (Checkers game is expected here)
Schaek-spel	juego de damas, tablas (Chess game is expected here)

As we can see, its characteristics were related to as many as four games; because of the usage of Pawns it was erroneously catalogued as a chess game, for at least three games: checkers, andarraia, and alquerque, and chess. Three of these games were known as checkers' variations. And all this without mention of **Marro de Punta**, which was also played with chess pawns.

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<sup>276</sup> **PORTE, Arnold de la** (1659). Den Nieuwen dictionaris oft schadt der duytsen en de spaensche talen, Antwerpen.

## 7.5 Conclusion

We can have doubts about the argument that **Marro the Punta** refers to just one game over squares. *Marro*, a Catalan word which is barely used today, was described many times between the fourteenth and nineteenth centuries as a generic name for similar board games. It is highly likely that its omission in the title of Torquemada's book was intentional, since this was a cleverness game and in the Torquemada book appeared "El Ingenio", indicating similar things. This game had nothing to do with a tip game<sup>277</sup> which used intersection crosses which fitted in many games. With the term *Marro de Punta* the idea was precisely to separate it from the others and make clear in the sixteenth century that it was a new **Marro** Game with a determined direction. The name *Marro de Punta* could be developed gradually after 1495 as a Valencian name for the new *andarraya* game<sup>278</sup> meaning pawns settled in the four strips extremes, are coronated to the new powerful lady (dama)<sup>279</sup>, played in a diagonal direction over the old *andarraya* board with diagonal strips.

However, if we value all the data, the most logical thought is that *Marro de Punta* did not refer to anything but *andarraya* practiced over a stripped board, with exclusive diagonal direction movement, and with the use of the new powerful lady.

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<sup>277</sup> JANSSEN, Rob (1993). Draughts Magazine *Hoofddlijn*, Amsterdam. Issue 30, pp. 15-16.

<sup>278</sup> WESTERVELD, Govert (1992). Draughts Magazine *Het Nieuwe Damspel*, Utrecht, p. 38.

<sup>279</sup> BAKKER, Gerard (1983). Draughts Magazine *Het Nieuwe Damspel*, Utrecht, p. 44.

BAKKER, Gerard (1987). Draughts Magazine *Het Nieuwe Damspel*, Utrecht, pp. 42-43.

In this case the term Marro had the meaning of a game practiced over strips and intersection crosses while the ***Punta*** term had the sense of a diagonal direction. Therefore Marro de Punta was a stripped diagonal game which later changed to a chessboard and during the first years of introduction kept its name. It was very probable that this game acquired the name Checkers or Checkers Game during the second part of the the sixteenth century in Spain (under the French influence?).

The pieces used in the different Checkers games: andarraia, alquerque, and checkers were the reason why these checkers games were translated into a game very similar to the Chess game overseas, where checkers were practiced with chips.

This way Marro de Punta took from Chess:

1. The chessboard.
2. The name of the Spanish chess piece - Pawn.  
(The figure of this piece has its origin in the Alquerque game)
3. The figure of the new powerful lady.
4. The name of the new powerful lady.
5. The term *Punta*, which has its origin in the Catalan translation of the Latin Chess Book by Jacobus de Cessolis.

## 8 ANDARRAYA

### 8.1 The precursor of the draughts game

One of the most sensational discoveries related to finding a probable predecessor of the Checkers game has been the one from Rob Jansen<sup>280</sup> about the andarraya<sup>281</sup>. Jansen wondered whether this game could have been the same played in The Philippines<sup>282</sup>. Jansen introduced several references and the most important was the one in the European-American Universal Illustrated Encyclopedia (which we mention hereafter) where appears the etymology of the word *andarraya*. But Corominas does not incorporate in its etymological dictionary the *Andarraya* voice and, logically, the description of the mesh pattern in a word which could summarize it has to come from somewhere else. To be sure that *andarraya* could be equal to the Philippine checkers board as we know it, I have tried to give a subsequent analysis of the Moroccan word *attaracha*, which was possible thanks to the etymology of the Spanish words *atarraya* and *esparavel*. Now after the facts exposing hereafter everything indicates that the Philippine checkers game is nothing but the old andarraya game.

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<sup>280</sup> **WESTERVELD, Govert** (1992). Draughts Magazine *Het Nieuwe Damspel*, Utrecht, p. 83.

<sup>281</sup> **SESÉ, Bernard** (1966). Vocabulaire de la langue espagnole classique (XVIe et XVIIe siècles) par Bernard Sesé, Maître-Assistant à la Sorbonne, Centre de Documentation Universitaire, Paris. Chapitre VIII: Les Jeux.

<sup>282</sup> **CULIN, Stewart** (1900). Philippine Games. In: American Anthropologist, New Series 2, pp. 643-656.

**MURRAY, Harold James Ruthven** (1952) A history of Board-games other than chess, Oxford, p. 79.

## 8.2 The etymology of the word Andarraya.

Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada<sup>283</sup> (1987, Vol 5:412)

**Andarraya** (etim - del ar. marroquí **attarracha**, red., por la semejanza entre la figura de sus mallas y los cuadros del tablero) ant. juego que se hacía con piezas o piedras sobre un tablero semejante al de las damas.

### Loose translation:

**Andarraya** (Etym. - from the Arab Moroccan *attarracha*, mesh, by the similarity between the figure of its mesh and the squares in the board) Game made with pieces or stones over a board similar to the board of checkers.

## 8.3 The etymology of the word Atarraya

**Andarraya** being a word derived from the word *attaracha*, meaning a mesh, we have researched the meaning of the word *attaraya* too, which means mesh. However, the first document where this term could be found dates back to 1570.

Universal Illustrated Encyclopedia (1987, Vol 6:864)

### 8.3.1 Attaraya

Especie de red de pescar, semejante al **esparavel**, que se arroja en el río a fuerza de brazo. (etim.- Del árabe hispánico y magrebí *tarrâha* íd. *atarrâha*). íd. (derivado de t-r-h “arrojar”) 1ª doc. 1570.

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<sup>283</sup> **ENCICLOPEDIA UNIVERSAL ILUSTRADA, EUROPEA-AMERICANA** (1908-1930. 70 volumes, thereafter in 1930-1996 about 40 supplements). Espasa-Calpe, Madrid.



**Loose translation:**

#### **8.4 Attaraya**

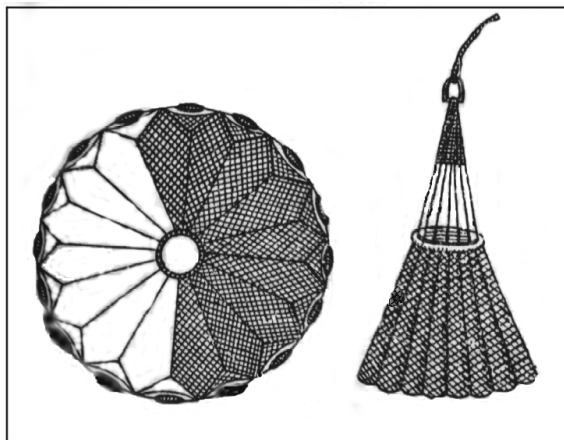
A kind of fishing net, similar to esparavel (**casting net**), that is thrown in the river by arm. (etim.- from the Arab Hispanic and magrebí tarrâha íd. atarrâha). Id. (Derived from t-r-h "arrojar - throw") 1st doc. 1570.

In Corominas<sup>284</sup> (1987) we found:

*Etim. - Del ár. atarraha, red arrojadiza.) f. ant. Red para pescar. V. Esparavel.*

**Loose translation:**

*Etim. - AR. atarraha - throwing net, f. ant. Fishing net. V. Esparavel - casting net.*



**Two examples of Atarraya nets**

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<sup>284</sup> **COROMINAS, J. Y PASCUAL, J.A.** (1987). Diccionario crítico etimológico castellano e hispánico, Madrid.

Thus we see little difference between the words attaracha (=andarraya) and atarraha (=atarraya) and it is therefore likely that we speak here about the fishermen's net - a type of fishing net from mesh fabric. Now we carefully analyze the word Esparavel - casting net.

## 8.5 The etymology of the word Esparavel

**Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada (1987, Volume 22:9):**

**Esparavel.** Pesca. Arte de pesca de tamaño pequeño, de hilo fino y de forma de paracaídas que se emplea mucho en nuestras costas desde los muelles, desde la costa ó desde alguna embarcación, aunque siempre se usa más desde tierra. Este arte se dedica principalmente á la pesca del meruje, llamado también mujol y lisa, y se le denomina en unos sitios **esparavel**, en otros **tarraya** y en otros rallo y rall.

**Loose translation:**



*Esparavel.* Fishing. Small fishing gear, with a fine wire and parachute shaped that is widely used in our coasts from the piers, from the shore, or from a boat, but it is always more used from the ground. This art is mainly engaged in fishing meruje, also called mullet and lisa, and is called *casting net* in some places, while in others *tarraya* and others *rallo* and *rall*.

**Atarraya network with mesh pattern**

Corominas<sup>285</sup> noted the following:

Red redonda para pescar, que se arroja a fuerza de brazo en los ríos y parajes de poco fondo.....

**Loose translation:**

Round fishing net thrown by arm in rivers and shallow spots.....

## **8.6 Commonalities: Andarraya, Esparavel, and Atarraya**

We therefore see that *andarraya* is a word derived from the Moroccan word *attaracha*. We do not know where the Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada found all its information, because we found nothing in Corominas. *Attaracha* is probably nothing but the Moroccan word *atarrâha*. It is also possible that the word *attaracha* was not well written; there are two Ts in it and it could be a typo. We are left to discern why he uses the ‘c’ in *attaracha*, as it is not in the word *atarrâha* (with two Rs). As the two Moroccan words mean ‘net’, it can be accepted that both words mean the same and were written in two ways by the Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada. In all probability this description of *andarraya* comes from Leopoldo Eguilaz and Yanguas' dictionary<sup>286</sup>.

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<sup>285</sup> **COROMINAS, J. Y PASCUAL, J.A.** (1987). Diccionario crítico etimológico castellano e hispánico, Madrid.

<sup>286</sup> **EGUÍLAZ Y YANQUAS, Leopoldo de** (1836). Glosario etimológico de las palabras españolas (castellanas, catalanas, gallegas, mallorquinas, portuguesas, valencianas y vascas) de origen oriental (árabe, hebreo, malayo, persa y turco), Granada, 1886, Madrid 1974.

### **8.6.1 Andarraya**

In the Fishing lexicon in Colombia we find this on andarraya<sup>287</sup>:

#### **I. Pesca en el mar caribe:**

Es una red redondo cuyo diametro varia entre 2 y 8 metros y cuyas mallas u ojos tienen de 1 a 3 puntos (punto “ancho de dedo”).....

#### **Loose translation:**

#### **I. Caribbean Sea Fishing**

It is a round net of which the diameter varies between 2 and 8 meters and of which the mesh or holes have from 1 to 3 points ("finger width" points)...

#### **II Pesca en agua dulce**

En términos generales la atarraya es una red de tamaño variable, tejida en forma de campana y con plomada por toda la circunferencia. Corresponde el esparavel del diccionario académico.

#### **Loose translation:**

#### **II Freshwater fishing**

Overall atarraya is a net of varying size, woven bell-shaped and plumb in the entire circumference. The word esparavel corresponds to the definition in the academic dictionary.

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<sup>287</sup> **MONTES GIRALDO, José Joaquín & FLÓREZ, Luis** (1973). Muestras del Léxico de la Pesca en Colombia, Bogotá.

### 8.6.2 Atarraya and esparavel

Atarraya and esparavel are old terms and therefore it is reasonable that these words are used in the former Spanish colony. Dr. Antonio de Morga described in the early sixteenth century the atarraya net and esparavel.

In a translation by *H.E.J. Stanley*<sup>288</sup> we see:

p. 280 (5 kilometer van Manilla)

(.....) the method of the natives for catching them, is by making inclosures of bejucos, which are canes or reeds, solid and very pliable, and tough, they are slender, and are twisted into cables and other cordage for their vessels. They catch the fish inside these inclosures which are made fast in a ring with stakes, and in creels which they make of those canes; and the most ordinary ways are with watchtowers (**note 1**) and fishing-nets, and other small drag-nets, and with strings and hooks by hand.

**note 1: atarraya;** probably for atalaya, a raised stand from which watchers can see when the fish come within the nets.

*E.H. Blair*<sup>289</sup> also describes Dr. Antonio de Morga's work and also quotes *Stanley*'s translation:

II p. 96

20 leguas from Manilla, in the province of Bonbon, is another lake of the same name (Bonbon), not so extensive as the former, but with a great abundance of fish. The natives' method of catching them is by making corrals of bejucos, which are certain slender canes or rushes, solid and very pliant and strong; these are employed for making cables for the natives' boats, as well as other

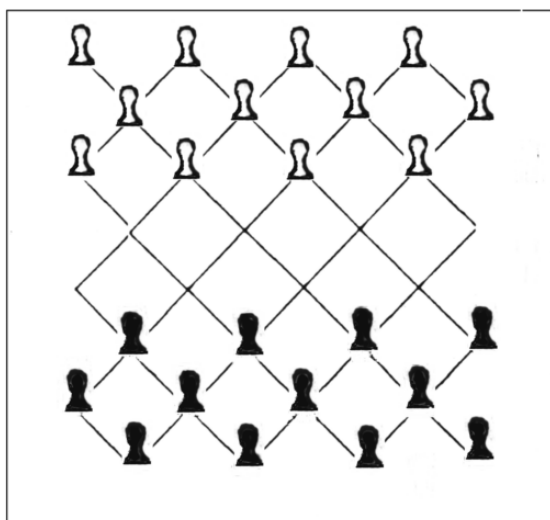
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<sup>288</sup> **MORGA, Antonio de** (1609). *Sucesos de las Islas Philipinas*. (Translation in English by H.E.J. Stanley: the Philippine Islands, London 1867, in de reeks van de Hakluyt Society).

<sup>289</sup> **MORGA, Antonio de** (1609). *History of the Philippine Islands*. E.H. Blair and J.A. Robertson, Cleveland 1907/New York 1970.

kinds of ropes. They catch the fish inside these corrals, having made the enclosures fast by means of stakes. They also catch the fish in wicker baskets made from the bejucos, but most generally with **atarrayas**, **esparaveles**, other small barrederas, and with handlines and hooks.

**Atarraya**, a species of fishing-net. Stanley's conjecture is wrong. **Esparavel** is a round fishing-net, which is jerked along by the fisher through rivers and shallow places. Barredera is a net of which the meshes are closer and tighter than those of common nets, so that the smallest fish may not escape it.



The game of andarraya

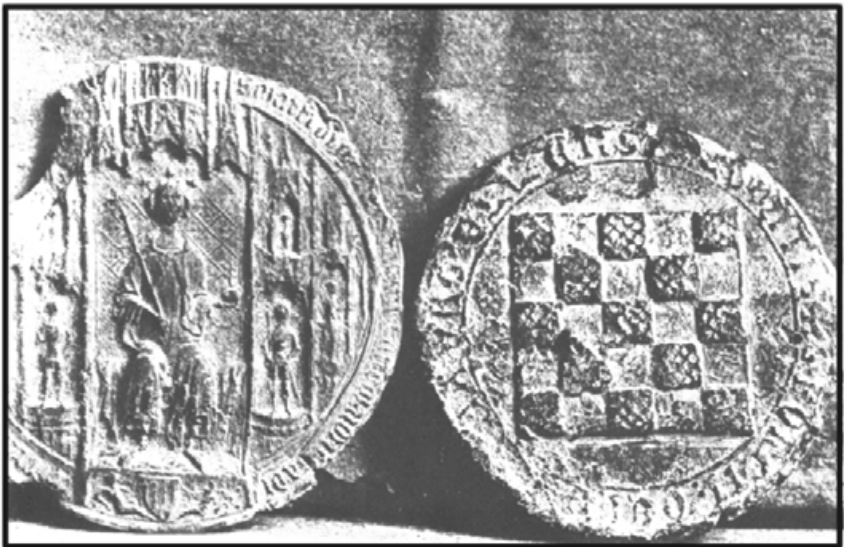
## 8.7 Andarraya, an ancient line game

In the fifteenth century a game called andarraya which closely resembled our current game of checkers, practiced on a chessboard, was known in Spain. At this time we still needed

several data and references to determine how this game was practiced in the past. Therefore we are now stuck with the information and data that we have at our disposal today to reach a hypothesis. Currently we have different references.

## **8.7.1 Descriptions of Andarraya in literature**

### **8.7.1.1 1400 Martin el Humano**



**Red wax seal of Martin el Humano, c. 1400  
King of Aragon and Sicily**

Martin de Humano was King of Aragon, Valencia, Sardinia and Corsica and Count of Barcelona from 1396 and King of Sicily from 1409 (as Martin II). While in the sixteenth century the use

of checkered boxes was common in weapons, tiles, and decorations, in the fifteenth century we find especially a stripe system. An example of this is seen in Martin el Humano's red wax seal (C. 1400). In the Annex engraving of a wax seal we see a kind of board built on a stripe system. Also behind the King Martin el Humano's back, in *Juan II* there appears a stripe system as a game of andarraya.



**Juan II's seal (1458-1479  
King of Aragon and Sicily**

### **8.7.1.2 1432 Juan Alonso de Baena**

Juan Alonso de Baena (1406-1454) was a Spanish writer born in Baena. He belonged to a Jewish family, but later converted to the Catholic religion and King Juan II of Castilla appointed him as his secretary. One of his most important works is the *Cancionero de Baena* which was published in 1499. He was friend with the former Constable Alvaro de Luna and other



prominent members of the Court. He dedicated his poems to these people as a form of supplication.

**415 Pregunta de Juan Alfonso contra Cañisares:**

Pues vos teneys por grant papagayo/en esta çiencia, Señor Cañisares,/dadme rrespuesta syn falta d'asares,/que syempre biudades syn otro desmayo;/ca çierto sepades, señor, que m'enssayo/por darvos jugando vn golpe de xaque;/por ende vos cunple armavos de jaque,/ca segunt creo convusco es el rrayo<sup>290</sup>. (Baena, 1432/1993:682)

**Loose translation:**

Rrayo is related to *ralo* and *rall* (Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada 1987, Volume 22:9), both words can be translated as *esparavel* (casting net) and *tarraya* - a mesh patterned net. In light of the foregoing, *rrayo* may mean a striped mesh patterned game.

### **8.7.1.3 1454 Juan de Mena**

Juan de Mena's figure was very important in the fifteenth century; he was the one who mentioned *andarraya* in some verses. It is worth pointing out here that in Juan de Timoneda's book of checkers from 1635 we found a couplet of high art verses that according to Professor Fuster (Valencia) were the kind of verses that were widely used in the fifteenth century<sup>291</sup>. Again and again there appears to be a reference to Juan de Mena, a poet who surpassed his contemporaries regarding such verses.

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<sup>290</sup> **BAENA, Juan Alfonso de** (1432). *Cancionero de Juan Alfonso de Baena*, Edición y estudio de Brian Dutton y Joaquín González Cuenca, Visor Libros, Madrid, 1993, p. 682.

<sup>291</sup> **WESTERVELD, Govert** (1991). *Draughts Magazine Het Nieuwe Damspel*, Utrecht, p. 67.

Juan de Mena's life runs parallel with the reign of Juan II of Castile (1406-1454), because the latter was born in 1411 and died in 1456. Juan de Mena (1411-1456), born in Córdoba, was Juan II's favourite poet.

Juan de Mena resided in Florence where he lived at the court of Pope Eugenio IV during 1442-1443 and was protected by the cardinals Cervantes and Juan de Torquemada, who were present in Italy for reasons of council for the union between the Greek and Roman Catholic churches. In late August 1453 Mena obtained several thousand maravedis raised on gambling or gaming tax in Cordoba. Did he get the idea or the term *andarraya* for them to put in his verse in 1454?

Throughout his life he was a faithful and intimate friend of Marquis de Santillana. In 1454 Juan de Mena was in the court of the Castilian King and exchanged verses with the Marquis of Santillana about the four-day fever suffered by the King.



**Professor Joan Fuster**

## **SOBRE LA QUARTANA DEL SEÑOR REY**

Porque la que nunca venga  
al señor Rey se le vaya,  
conçertamos un arenga,  
tal que de menos non tenga  
nin de más nada non aya  
Pues tenés el atalaya,  
vos, señor en todo más,  
dad el modo por compás,  
que yo non me torne atrás  
a guisa del andarraya<sup>292</sup>.

### **Loose Translation:**

#### **ON THE THIRD DAY FEVER OF THE KING**

because of that which never comes  
disappears with His Majesty.

We prepare a solemn speech,  
so that it becomes not less,  
but also not more.

You, Lord, with respect to the remaining things,  
Take the way as a guide,  
because I do not return,  
such as in the andarraya game.

*Let's see here the two rules:*

que yo non me torne atrás  
a guisa del andarraya

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<sup>292</sup> MENA, Juan de (1989). Obras completas, Planeta, Barcelona, p. 89.

### **Loose translation:**

because I do not return,  
such as in the andarraya game

From the text it is inferred that andarraya began by moving forward and the pawn could return once arrived at the end of the board. That is also the case in checkers: when one promotes to king (lady), one can move backwards. The piece probably still returned with a short king (lady) who moved only one square on every play. It is clear that we need to find even more material as evidence to affirm this rigorously.



**Juan de Mena's image in a book from 1509**

#### 8.7.1.4 1464 Juan de Lucena

Juan de Lucena (1430 - 1504) in his treatise *Vita Beata* dedicated to King Enrique IV introduced three glorious authors: The Marquis of Santillana, Alonso de Cartagena, and Juan de Mena.

Juan de Lucena was King Juan II of Castile's ambassador. He wrote *Vita Beata*, first printed in Zamora in 1483. In all likelihood *Vita Beata* was written between 1452 and 1455, prepared in the form of a dialogue in which we find Íñigo López de Mendoza (1398-1458), known as Santillana Marquis, Alfonso de Cartagena (Bishop of Burgos), and Juan de Mena (Chronicler of the King) as interlocutors. Lucena's work is interesting for its moral considerations. In the National Library of Madrid there is a *Vita Beata* manuscript signed in 1464 by the writer Juan de Lucena<sup>293</sup>.

If we want to know more about Juan de Lucena's life, it is worth checking the works of Lapesa<sup>294</sup> and Calvo<sup>295</sup>.

**Here we want to explain some phrases from pages 167 and 168 regarding andarraya as described by Paz y Melia:**

"....do figuran la España, fallarás, señor marqués, el Mahometo, cernícalo de Granada, sus faldas alçacas, mostrarnos la cola. Ni you

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<sup>293</sup> **LUCENA, Juan de** (1464). Manuscript. *Vita Beata*. (Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid).

<sup>294</sup> **LAPESA, Rafael** (1971). *De la edad Media a nuestros días*. Biblioteca Románica Hispana. Gredos. Madrid.

<sup>295</sup> **CALVO, Ricardo** (1995). *Life, Chess and literature in Lucena*. Madrid. Published in Internationales Forschungszentrum Kulturwissenschaften (IFK) Materialien. De. Ernst Strouhal. Wenen 1995.

sé dezirlo más honesto, ni ellos pintarlo más feo. Tamaña verguença, vituperio tan grande,¿quién jamás lo sufrió<sup>296</sup>?

**Loose translation:**

".... Where Spain appears, you will find, Mr. Marquis, the Mohammedan, this stupid and rude guy from Granada, with his raised skirt showing us the trail. I cannot decently say it, and they cannot painting it uglier, great shame, so much disapproval. Who never suffered from it? ....."

Quanto augmentaron éellos la fe, tanto nosotros disminuymos. Subiéronla fasta la raya; deçendémosla fasta el culón.

**Loose translation:**

The more they went on to the Catholic faith, the more we got down faith. They rose up to the mark and we descended to the bottom.

In the text we see the phrase:

"subiéronla fasta la raya; deçendémosla fasta el culón".

**Loose translation:**

They raised it to the strip; let us descend it to the origin (andarraya)

A. Paz y Melía observed in the news of his book:

"quién sabe jugar al andarraya lo entendera luego"

**Loose translation:**

"Who knows how to play andarraya will understand it"

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<sup>296</sup> **PAZ Y MELÍA, A.** (1892). Opusculos literarios de los siglos XIV al XVI, Sociedad de bibliófilos españoles, Madrid, p. 168.

### 8.7.1.5 1475 Ms. Douce 353

This is a partial manuscript reproduction of a black and white miniature MS Douce 353, in possession of the Bodleian Library. Oxford, England. It was written in France in French in the third quarter of the fifteenth century. The content of the manuscript is described as *Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César* and the image on page 31R illustrates the real story of the great Troy, ending with the destruction of Troy which begins on page 30V<sup>297</sup>. Douce MS 353 was reproduced in several works<sup>298</sup> (Synge (1973: Cover; Asaert, 1974:129; Teleac, 1990:128).

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<sup>297</sup> **BAKKER, Gerard** (1992). *Draughts Magazine Het Nieuwe Damspel*, Utrecht, pp. 39 and 48.

<sup>298</sup> **SYNGE, M.B.** (1973). *Ontdekkingsreizen*, Haarlem.

**ASAERT, G.** (1974). *Westeuropese scheepvaart in de middeleeuwen*, Bussum, p. 129.

**TELEAC** (1990). *Steden des tijds*, Utrecht, p. 128.



**Andarraya in 1475?**

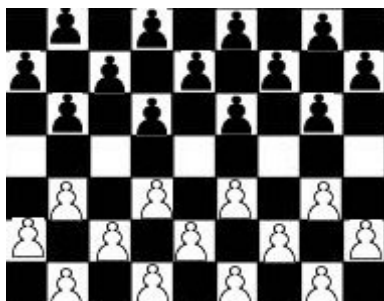
The miniature is cataloged under different titles: *Argo equipped*, *Carpenters and cooks on quay*, *Jason and Hercules play chess*, *Chess being played*.

Ir. G. Bakker discussed this miniature in detail and considers with doubts that it reflecting andarraya could be a new version of the board game of alquerque of twelve.

If we study well the image on the MS Douce 353 it appears that we see a checkered board with pawns. In the first row we observe 3 or 4 pawns, on the second row 5 and on the third row we see 4 pawns. Thus we see totally 12 or 13 pawns. The distance between the three rows of the white pawns and the black pawns is short, probably one row instead of the two rows



that we have in the present draughts game. Also we observe a diagonal move, but it is clear that we can also have an orthogonal move, such as is happening in the present Turkish draughts game.



**Probable andarraya game**

The pawns when reaching the eighth row can return, but it is not clear if there indeed was a promotion of the pawn to king or short dama. The dictionaries make clear that the game was played on a checkered board like the Spanish chess board.

#### **8.7.1.6 1495 Elio Antonio de Nebrija**

##### **1495, Andarraia, calculorum ludus, NOVUM**

The first reference to andarraya was found by Rob Jansen in Alonso's dictionary<sup>299</sup> which quotes Nebrija (1495), but Professor Manuel Muñoz Cortes from the University of Murcia told me that Alonso was not very reliable many times. The year

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<sup>299</sup> **ALONSO, Martín** (1986). *Diccionario Medieval Español desde las Glosas Emilianenses y Silenses (S. X) hasta el siglo XV*, Salamanca.

1495 indicated by Alonso could equally be 1516<sup>300</sup>. Jansen<sup>301</sup> says in *Hoofdlijn* that the word *andarraya* is in Nebrija of the year 1492<sup>302</sup>, but this is a mistake, because I did not see this word in the original dictionary of 1492<sup>303</sup>. The dictionary quoted by Jansen cannot be dated from 1492, but from 1495. It is therefore necessary to find the original one of Antonio de Nebrija. This I did and it turned out that the first reference to *andarraya* was in Nebrija's dictionary from 1495<sup>304</sup>. Jansen, rightly, has his doubts, because instead of 1495 also 1494 or even 1493 are possible dates<sup>305</sup>. The dictionary made by Nebrija in 1495 was published again in 1996 by Garcia Macho<sup>306</sup>.

Therefore 1495 seems to be the most reliable date and then it would be consistent with Alonso (1986). But more interesting are the words we find in Nebrija's dictionary of 1495:

Alquerque	Calculorum ludus	
Andarraia	Calculorum ludus	<b>NOVUM</b>
Dama es casi señora	Domina-ae	<b>NOVUM</b>

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<sup>300</sup> **NEBRIJA, Antonio de** (1516). *Vocabulario de Romance en latin*. Sevilla. (reprint, Madrid, 1971)

<sup>301</sup> **JANSEN, Rob** (1993). *Draughts Magazine Hoofdlijn*, Amsterdam, Issue 30, pp. 15-16.

<sup>302</sup> **NEBRIJA, Antonio de** (1492). *Vocabulario español latin*, Salamanca 1492 - reprint 1979.

<sup>303</sup> **NEBRIJA, Antonio de** (1492). *Dictionarium latino-hispanum*, Salamanca.

<sup>304</sup> **NEBRIJA, Antonio de** (1495). *Dictionarium hispano-latinum*, Salamanca. (reprint in 1951 by the Real Academia Española -Diccionario Romance (español) en latin. There are several editions of this book: in: 1494? Evora; 1503 Sevilla; 1506 Paris and 1513 in Madrid.

<sup>305</sup> **SOBERANAS, Amaeu J.** (1992). *Nebrija, Insula*, Issue 551, November 1992 (*Revista de letras y Ciencias Humanas*), pp. 7/8/9.

<sup>306</sup> **GARCIA MACHO, María Lourdes** (1996). *El léxico castellano de los Vocables de Antonio de Nebrija*. Hildesheim-Zürich-New York. 3 volumes.



**Elio Antonio de Nebrija**

In the 1495 dictionary **NOVUM** (New) is printed in separate forms and the meanings of these words are new. So that the new king (lady), i.e. long king with long movements, was introduced in chess at this time. It all harmonized in date with the two treaties on the new powerful king in chess: Lucena<sup>307</sup> and Vinyoles<sup>308</sup>. As the game was also titled *andarraia* with **Novum**, we can admit that the game of andarraya was moved to the chessboard and obtained the (powerful) long King.

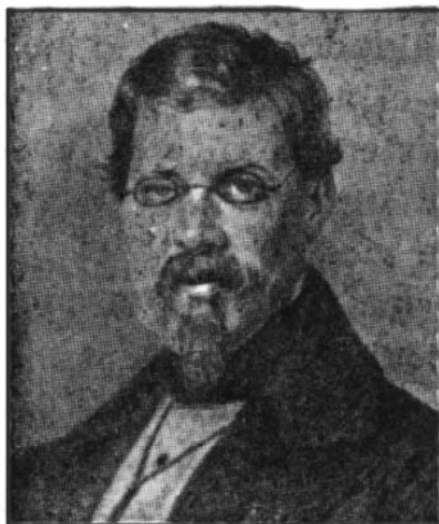
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<sup>307</sup> **LUCENA** (1497) Repetición de amores e arte de Axedres con CL Juegos de Partido. Salamanca

<sup>308</sup> **VINYOLES, Narcís** (1475). Escacs d'amor, Valencia. Escacs d'amor, Valencia; Edición de Antonio Ferrando Francés, Universitat de València, Facultat de Filologia, Narcís Vinyoles i la seua obra, Valencia, 1978.

### 8.7.1.7 1891 Basilio Sebastian Castellano y Losada

This was a Spanish man of letters and archaeologist born in Madrid on June 14, 1807 and died on June 6, 1891.



**Basilio Sebastian Castellano y Losada**

We owe him many historical works. The 1891 reference comes from Pagés' dictionary<sup>309</sup>.

1891 *Castellanos B.S.* (*Pagés Dicc.* 1902 s/v):

“jugabase entonces mucho al andarraya, que, a la verdad, no era juego muy complicado, etc.”

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<sup>309</sup> **PAGÉS DE PUIG, Aniseto de** (1901). Gran diccionario de la lengua castellana, autorizado con ejemplo de buenos escritores antiguos y modernos, volume 1, 1901 (5 vols., B., s.a., 1902)

### **Loose translation:**

They then often played the andarraya game,  
which frankly speaking was not a very difficult game, etc.

#### **8.7.1.8 1892 Antonio Paz y Melia**

The Spanish scholar was born in Talavera de la Reina in 1842. He finished his Philosophy and Letters career, and once graduated as an archivist, librarian, and archaeologist; he led until his retirement the address of the departments of manuscripts of the National Library of Madrid. In A. Paz y Melía editing in 1891 on Juan de Lucena's book, the first news talks about the word andarraya. On page 168 of this work we find the text<sup>310</sup>:

**“subiéronla fasta la raya; deçendémosla fasta el culón”.**

A. Paz y Melía observed in the news of his book:  
"quién sabe jugar al andarraya lo entendera luego"

### **Loose translation:**

"Who knows how to play andarraya will understand it"

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<sup>310</sup> **PAZ Y MELÍA, A.** (1892). Opusculos literarios de los siglos XIV al XVI, Sociedad de bibliófilos españoles, Madrid, p. 168.

## 8.8 Andarraya in different dictionaries

Alonso<sup>311</sup> mistakenly indicates a poem from Santillana belonging to Juan de Mena.

**andarraya:** s. XV juego que se hacia con piezas o piedras sobre un tablero a modo del de damas **a quisa del andarraya**, *Santillana*: decir contra aragoneses<sup>312</sup> (1429) en NBAE t. 19, 515

**andarraia**, calculorum ludus, novum - *Nebrya*: Voc. esp. lat. 1495 **quien sabe jugar al andarraya lo entendera luego**, *Lucena*: Vida beata<sup>313</sup> (1463), 168

We have said earlier that the first mention of andarraya dates from 1454 and belongs to the poet Juan de Mena. This is one proof more that it is hard to trust dictionaries.

### 2. Diccionario Histórico<sup>314</sup>:

**Andarraya**, anda-raya, andarraia, andaraia, andaraya. (**de andar + raya**). andaraja se lee en *Minsheu* 1617, como transcripción errónea del andarraia de *Nebrya* 1495. f. **juego semejante al de las damas**.

- 1454 *Mena* Poes. (NBAE XIX, 515b): Pues tenes el atalaya/  
vos, señor, en todo mas,/ dad el modo por compas,/ que yo  
non me torne atras,/a guisa del andarraya.
- 1463-92 Vida Beata y *Lucena* (1892) 168 nota: Quién sabe

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<sup>311</sup> **ALONSO, Martín** (1986). Diccionario Medieval Español desde las Glosas Emilianenses y Silenses (S. X) hasta el siglo XV, Salamanca.

<sup>312</sup> **DELBOSC, Foulché** (1912). Santillana: Decir contra aragoneses. In: Nueva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles (NBAE), issue 19, (Bailly-Baillière), p. 515.

<sup>313</sup> **LUCENA, Juan de** (1463). Manuscript. Vita Beata. (Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid).

<sup>314</sup> **DICCIONARIO HISTÓRICO DE LA LENGUA ESPAÑOLA** (1933-1936). Madrid. (Madrid 1979).

- jugar el anda-rama lo entenderá luego.
- 1495 *Nebrya*: andarraia (Nebrija, 1495)
  - 1604 *Palet*<sup>315</sup> Dicc.: andaraia (Palet, 1604)
  - 1617 *Minsheu*<sup>316</sup> (TL) andaraia o andaraja (Minsheu, 1617)
  - 1706 *Stevens*<sup>317</sup> Dict.: andaraya (Stevens, 1706)
  - 1891 *Castellanos*<sup>318</sup> B.S. (Pagés Dicc.1902 s/v): jugabase entonces mucho al andarraia, que, a la verdad, no era juego muy complicado
  - 1495 *Nebrya* et 1770-1984 ac 1786 Dicc. Terreros<sup>319</sup>

### 3. Tesoro Lexicográfico 1492-1726<sup>320</sup>, Madrid 1947

#### Andarraia

- Palet* 1604: andaraia, ieu de damier
- Oudin* 1607: andaraia, une sorte de ieu d'eschets, et selon aucuns le ieu du damier<sup>321</sup>
- Minsheu* 1617: andaraia o andaraja. Une sorte de jeu d'eschets ou damier; sorte di gioco di scacchi o di tavole; jocus quidam in lusu

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<sup>315</sup> **PALET, Joan** (1604). Diccionario muy copioso de la lengua española y francesa, Paris.

<sup>316</sup> **MINSHEU, John** (1617). Vocabularium Hispanicolatinum et Anglicum copiosum, London.

<sup>317</sup> **STEVENS, John** (1706). A new Spanish and English Dictionary, Londres.

<sup>318</sup> **PAGÉS DE PUIG, Aniseto de** (1901-1902). Gran diccionario de la lengua castellana, autorizado con ejemplo de buenos escritores antiguos y modernos, volume 1, 1901 (5 vols., B., s.a., 1902)

<sup>319</sup> **TERREROS, Esteban de** (1786-1793). Diccionario Castellano con las Voces de Ciencias y Artes y sus correspondientes en las 3 lenguas francesa, latina e italian, 4 volumes.

<sup>320</sup> **GAYA, Samuel Gil** (1947). el Tesoro Lexicográfico 1492-1726, Volume 1 A-E. Madrid.

<sup>321</sup> **UDIN, César** (1607). Tesoro de las dos lenguas francesa y española.

	latrunculorum; a kinde of play at chests or draughts.
<i>Franciosini</i> 1620:	andaraia, giuco de scacchi <sup>322</sup> (
<i>Stevens</i> 1720:	andaraya, a sorte of game like draughts.
<i>Nebrya</i> 1492 <sup>323</sup> :	andaraya, espèce de jeu de dames.
	Calculorum ludus

Gaya also mentions Nebrija in 1492, but it is a mistake. The first reference to the word andarraya is in Nebrija's dictionary from 1495. Needless to strive in the argument here since many dictionaries copied everything randomly and thus also the errors that others had posted earlier. Therefore dictionaries are only an aid to research the first form of checkers, but do not give an absolute guarantee.

1616 *Minsheu*

G. une sorte de jeu d'eschets ou damier.

I. sorte di gioco di scacchio o di tavole.

L. Iocus quidam in lusu latrunculorum.

A. a kind of play at chests or draughts.

1646 *Trognesius*<sup>324</sup>

Andaraia = une sorte de ieu d'eschets, seker schaeckspel.

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<sup>322</sup> **FRANCIOSINI, Lorenzo** (1620). Vocabulario Español e Italiano, 2 vols., Roma.

<sup>323</sup> The year should be 1495 and not 1492.

<sup>324</sup> **TROGNESIUS** (1646). Den grooten dictionaris en schadt van dry talen, Antwerpen.





MS DOUCE 353 (c. 1475)

Here we see two men playing<sup>325</sup> a type of draughts in 1470 which probably was Andarraya in the Kingdom of Castile and known as Marro de Punta in the Kingdom of Aragón. When was the forward only move introduced? We do not know, and there is no reference found in the literature. The best time for introducing the forward only move, thus similar to the chess pawns, was shortly after the time of introduction of the new powerful Dama in chess in Valencia that changed the chess game completely in 1475. In the case of the new andarraya (now with forward only moves and captures, plus the introduction of the new promotion with the help of the new powerful dama), I think that the date is between 1473 and 1495. Before 1495, because in that year Francesch Vicent wrote his chess book in Valencia. After that date the term Andarraya disappeared from the literature, but the old term Alquerque 12 continued, and now the Damas or Kings were probably also introduced to it. Due to the introduction of Damas to alquerque 12 this game was confused in the dictionaries with draughts. Branch<sup>326</sup> saw very clearly the development of the name Alquerque 12 toward the name ‘juego de las damas’:

The Spaniards continued, for a time, using the name of ‘Alquerque’ for Alquerque on the chessboard. Afterward the game became known as the game of the damas, or ladies ...

The draughts game continued to be called Alquerque for some years in the dictionaries and this spurred some confusion.

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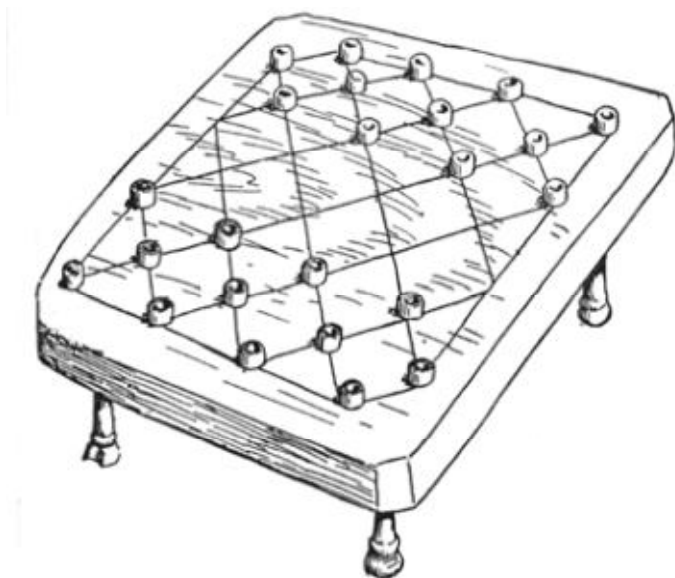
<sup>325</sup> Two men playing a game of chess in the forecastle. Cf. **FLATMAN, Joe C.** (2004) The Iconographic Evidence for Maritime Activities in the Middle Ages. In: *Current Science*, Vol. 86, No. 9, 10 May 2004, pp.. 1276-1282. Citation on p. 1278

<sup>326</sup> **BRANCH, William Shelley** (1911) *The History of Checkers From the Earliest Known date. Its Evolution and Growth*, Cheltenham, United Kingdom. Written for Pittsburg Leader between October 8, 1911 – April 14, 1912. (here 19 November 1911)

## 8.9 Andarraya-type checkers games of Spanish origin

### 8.9.1 Filipino checkers

The Filipino checkers game is exactly the same as the current game of checkers where the diagonal is found to the right, as is the case in the current Spanish game.



**The Philippine checkerboard**

Murray<sup>327</sup> mentions:

The Spanish game is also played in the Philippines<sup>328</sup> (*Culin*, p. 648) under the name *dama*, but on the lined board of fig. 33.

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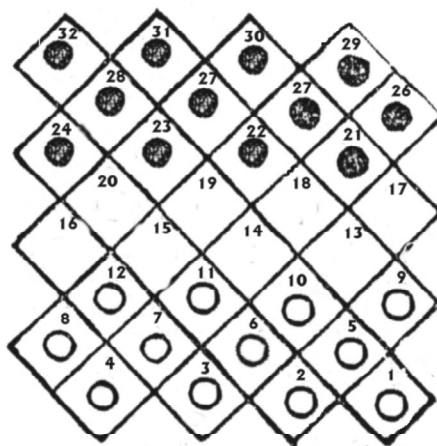
<sup>327</sup> **MURRAY, Harold James Ruthven.** (1952) A history of Board-games other than chess, Oxford, p. 79.

### 8.9.1.1 Lallement board

This simplification was first suggested by J.G. Lallement<sup>329</sup> in 1802. Spanish draughts is also played in Hawaii where it is called *moo* and played on the chessboard<sup>330</sup> (*Culin*, p. 244).

Here we can observe the following:

1. Murray in his Filipino checkers drawing has the diagonal to the left, while the diagonal in the Spanish game is on the right.
2. Murray also says that this game simplification was first suggested by the Frenchman J.G. Lallement.



Lallement's board

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<sup>328</sup> CULIN, Stewart (1900). Philippine Games. In: American Anthropologist, New Series 2, pp. 643-656.

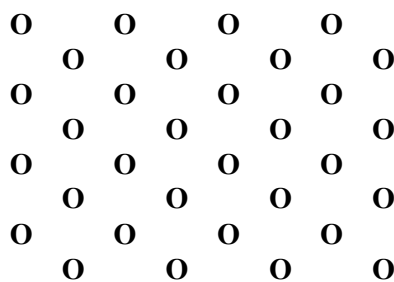
<sup>329</sup> LALLEMENT, J.G. (1802). Les quatre jeux de dames, Polonais, Egyptien, Echecs et à trois personnes; ...., Metz, chez l'auteur et chez Behmer, libraire-éditeur, an X, 2 vol. grand in-12 de 382 et 218, ensemble 600 pages.

<sup>330</sup> CULIN, Stewart (1899). Hawaiian Games. In: American Anthropologist, New Series, April, Vol. I, N° 2, pp. 201-247.

We must remember here that the first checkerboard of Friesland (Holland) with stripes and squares dates from 1724 and Jan van Leiden's checkerboard between 1500 and 1530. Both checkerboards have been mentioned in the chapter on Marro de Punta.

### 8.9.1.2 Andarraya played on holes

The idea of Andarraya with diagonal movement could also be played on holes.



**Andarraya played on holes**

In the following photo we clearly observe the characteristics of draughts played on 32 squares. One of the characteristic signs of the Spanish game is that the long diagonal is on the right. However, this is not the feature we see here on this stone, because the long diagonal is on the left when people are sitting on the bank on each side of the game. Anyway, it is clear that centuries ago players did not need a chessboard, they could play with lines (Andarraya board) and also with the help of these 32 holes.

This board was found on the banks of church Santa María de Navamorcuende that belongs to the province of Toledo. This church was built in the XVI century by Pedro de Tolosa, member of the team of Juan Bautista de Toledo, who was in

charge of the construction of the important Monastery of El Escorial near to Madrid.



**An Andarraya/Draughts drawing on the entrance bank of the church  
Santa María de Navamorcuende**

**Photo: Courtesy of © José Luis Lozano Egea**

When I contacted David Gutiérrez Pulido, the discoverer of this drawing through Facebook, he did not reply. For that reason I am not allowed to publish his photo taken in earlier years which is in my possession. Consequently I had to look for a voluntary person. Fortunately Mr. José Luis Lozano Egea declared that he was willing to help me in a disinterested way by acquire the necessary photos. And so on Saturday 16 July 2011 he went to the church of Navamorcuende<sup>331</sup> in the province of Toledo and

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<sup>331</sup> **GUTIÉRREZ PULIDO, David** (2006) Inscripciones en iglesias de la Sierra de San Vicente. In: Aguasal, nº 37, p. 31.

**GUTIÉRREZ PULIDO, David** (2006-2007) Artistas, artesanos y comerciantes talaveranos en iglesias de la Sierra de San Vicente (s.XVI-XVIII). In: Cuaderna, nº 14-15, 2006-2007, pp.155-172.

**GUTIÉRREZ PULIDO, David** (2007) La Panera de la iglesia de Navamorcuende (1737-1743). In: Aguasal, nº 39, pp. 32-33.

took several photographs of the andarraya/draughts board in question. This is one of the few boards of holes that I could find in Spain and is thus a unique one.



**An Andarraya or Draughts drawing on the entrance bank of the church  
Santa María de Navamorcuede  
Photo: Courtesy of © José Luis Lozano Egea**

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**GUTIÉRREZ PULIDO, David** (2007) Culto serrano hacia Santa María Magdalena. Aguasal, nº 40, pp. 32-33

**LÁZARO LÁZARO, Vicente** (1991) In: Navamorcuede, sus gentes y sus costumbres. Toledo

**SÁNCHEZ ESTEBAN, Natividad** (1993). La arquitectura clasicista en la Sierra de San Vicente: La parroquia de Navamorcuede. In: Boletín de la Sociedad de Amigos de la Sierra de San Vicente, nº 3, pp. 65-75

**SÁNCHEZ GIL, Julio** (2003) Nacimiento y consolidación del Señorío de Navamorcuede (1276-1399). Cuaderna, nº 11. Talavera de la Reina

**SÁNCHEZ GIL, Julio** (2003) El señorío de Navamorcuede hasta finales del siglo XVI. Diputación Provincial de Toledo. ISBN 84-87100-97-X

**SÁNCHEZ GIL, Julio** (2008) El marquesado de Navamorcuede en los siglos XVII y XVIII. Ayuntamiento de Navamorcuede. ISBN 84-87100-97-X

**VARIOS AUTORES** (1992). Navamorcuede: IV centenario de su iglesia (1591-1991) Diputación Provincial de Toledo, pp. 32 y 33

According to the archaeologist José Manuel Hidalgo Cuñarro this is a mancala game, but it is difficult for him to establish the chronology of this drawing. Since the church was built around 1580 it is logical to think that it was in those days that some people played andarraya or draughts instead of alquerque.

At the beginning of 2013 I became aware of another draughts board. This board belongs to the church of La Santísima Trinidad (the Holiest Trinity) located in the historic heart of Segovia.



**Draughts board in La Santísima Trinidad church**  
**Photo: Courtesy (c) José Arturo Salgado Pantoja**

There people can observe in the gantry well preserved draughts holes in the basement of the third intercolumnio of archery. José Arturo Salgado Pantoja mentioned this as a chessboard, but it is



clear that the 32 squares have a meaning, viz. to play draughts on the 32 squares because 64 squares are not necessary<sup>332</sup>.

If we carefully study this drawing, we see that the long diagonal is on the right hand. This is thus the same as in the Spanish draughts game, where players were moving in the sixteenth century on the white squares and the long white diagonal was precisely on the right. This is thus proof that indeed this game, which others label as chess, was no other game than Spanish draughts.

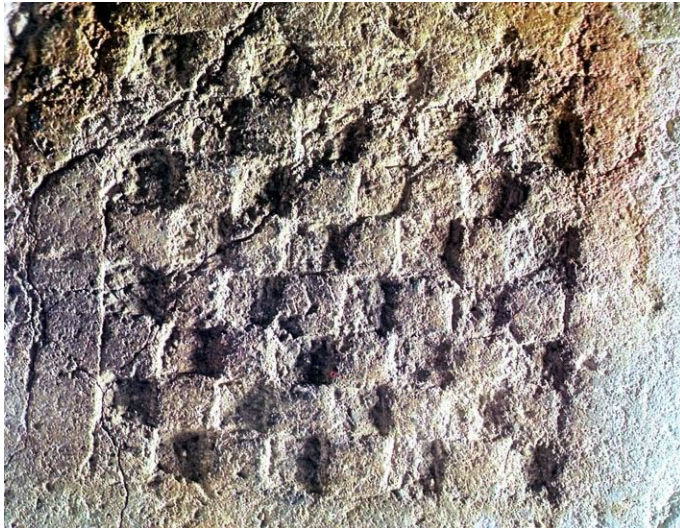
Fortunately another board with holes was found. It is a chequered chessboard carved on the stone floor of Troubadour's tower of Palacio La Aljaferia in Zaragoza according to Monreal y Tejada<sup>333</sup>. It was in use by the prisoners who were held there. The date was fixed presumably to be in the late 15th century.

In this case we believe more in an andarraya game that became popular in the 15<sup>th</sup> century and for which a checkered board was used and opponents only played diagonally on one colour.

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<sup>332</sup> **SALGADO PANTOJA, José Arturo** (2011) El pórtico románico en tierras de Castilla. Tesis doctoral en la Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha. Departamento de historia del Arte, pp. 340 and 774

<sup>333</sup> **MONREAL Y TEJADA, Luis** (1999) Medieval castles of Spain. (Germany: Konemann)



**Andarraya board in the Palacio la Aljaferia in Zaragoza**  
(c) Luis Monreal y Tejada



**Palacio La Aljaferia in Zaragoza**  
(CC BY 2.0) Franchis Raheer

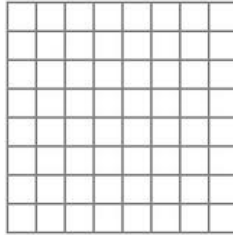


**Palacio La Aljaferia in Zaragoza**  
(CC BY-SA 4.0) José Luis Filpo Cabana

### **8.9.1.3 Andarrya on chessboard or Roman board**

An Andarraya board (chessboard or Roman board) was found in a place known as the Fonte do Ermitán (Guarda, Pontevedra) in the eighties of the last century. The board in question was 40 x 40cm and has 64 squares (8 x 8). Strangely enough, nearby there was another board of 45 x 35 that had 56 squares (8 x 7), which decreases the probability of andarrya for the 8 x 8 board.

It is quite clear that these boards were used for playing. The hermitage of Santa Tegra of the XVI century, to which annually in August comes a group of men in procession to meet with an ancestral vow of thanksgiving, has an ancient road that goes to the water source of Fonte do Ermitán. The thirst was quenched with water and playing on the boards.



**Probable andarraya on a lined board 8 x 8 at Fonte do Ermitán**



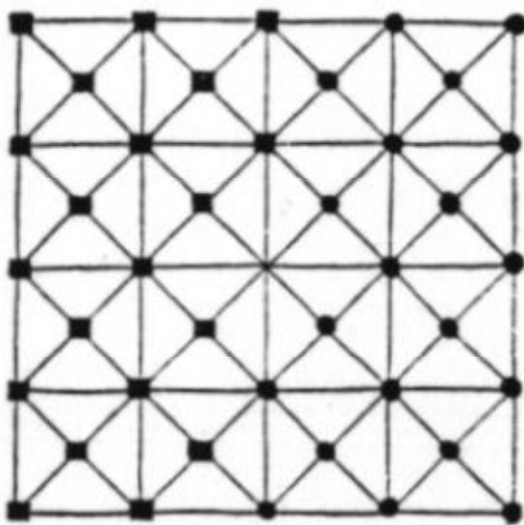
**The hermitage of Santa Tegra  
Photo: Dirk vdE**

#### 8.9.1.4 Tûkvnanawöpi's board

Further to Culin<sup>334</sup> (1907:795), he mentions in the board game Tûkvnanawöpi (Arizona):

*The inclosed spaces outside the squares are called houses. In these the killed animals are placed.*

By 'houses' he means the boxes in the checkerboard or chessboard in Spain, where the usual term is **casilla** or **square**. This board game is much like the board game that Culin (1907:792) describes in Fig. 1088 (New Mexico).



Tûkvnanawöpi

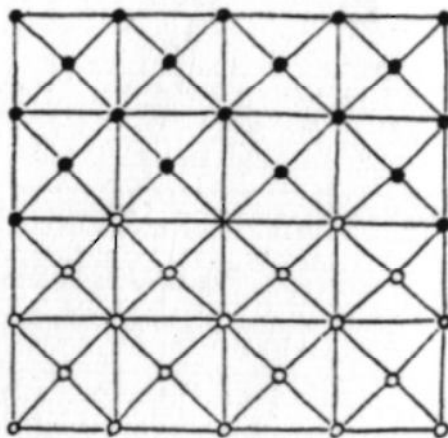
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<sup>334</sup> CULIN, Stewart (1907). Games of the North American Indians, Washington.

### 8.9.1.5 The Net

Parker<sup>335</sup> (1909) describes in his book the name of checkers on 144 squares in Ceylon with: *dam*, *draughts* or literally *the net* (la red): p. 584/585 Dam, Draughts; or literally *the Net*.

This game, which is also known in India, is closely allied to Polish Draughts. The pieces move in the squares instead of going along the lines. (....)



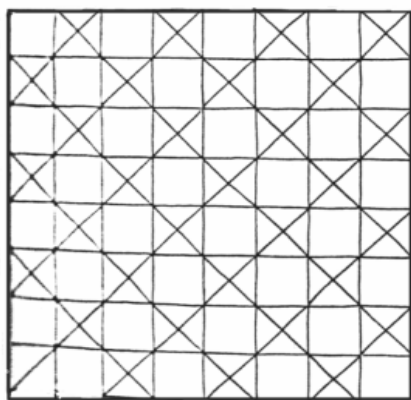
Culin's board "1088"

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<sup>335</sup> PARKER, H. (1909). Ancient Ceylon, London.

#### 8.9.1.6 The Moo Checkers

Culin<sup>336</sup> mentions that in the checkers played in Hawaii by the name of Moo the squares are called *ha-le* (home). And so the checkers game *Moo* also discovers a Spanish origin, because in the Spanish game the squares on the chessboard or checkerboard are called *houses* (casas).



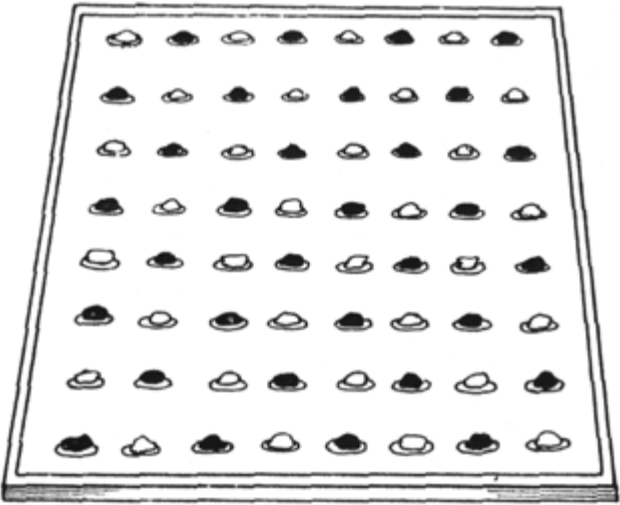
**The Moo Checkers game, Hawaii**

Fulton<sup>337</sup> describes a type of checkers game in Hawaii:  
“In old Hawai’i *kōnane* boards were made on large flat stones or made from pieces of wood. The boards were of many different sizes. **King Kamehameha Y** was very good at playing *kōnane*”.

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<sup>336</sup> **CULIN, Stewart** (1899). Hawaiian Games. In: American Anthropologist, New Series, April, Vol. I, N° 2, pp. 201-247. Citation on p. 244.

<sup>337</sup> **FULTON ABERNETLY, Jane & CLING TUNE, Suelyn** (1983). Made in Hawai’i. Honolulu, p. 44.



**Hawaiian Checkers**



## 8.10 Checkers in the Philippines

The Philippines were discovered in 1521 by the Spaniard Fernando de Magallanes during a trip to the spice islands of the Moluccas. However it was not until 1543 when the Spaniards were able to settle in smoothly.

### 8.10.1 1977 Nid Anima

A description of the Filipino checkers game is found in the book *Filipino Games*<sup>338</sup>:

#### p. 60-63 Dama

Filipinos may claim **dama** or **checkers** in Shakespeare's language - to be an indigenous game with them, but so do most other countries. In fact, almost all countries stake a claim to it. We are told that its origin dates back to the year 4.000 B.C. King Rameses was reputed to be addicted to this game, or so attest the large inscriptions discovered in the ancient temples of Thebes. It is also a popular amusement among the Moors.

Dama is played 2 ways, the so-called **derecha** and the **Italiana**. In the former, the movements as well as the capturing of pawns are always straight ahead and never backwards. While in the latter, the movement is also straight ahead, but there is a noticeable difference in the capturing of pawns, as it is allowed to leap backwards. Whenever the Filipinos play the **dama**, they always specify beforehand under which type they are playing, whether **derecha** or **Italiana**, so as to avoid confusion and misunderstanding. Checkers is traditionally played in the manner of the indigenous **derecha**. All indications point to the second type's name as signifying an Italian vintage. The *ilocanos* never fail to specify that the game be played in the so-called **peon tugaw**, meaning that every move should be final and cannot be retracted. In other words, **touch move** or so they identify it in

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<sup>338</sup> **ANIMA, Nid** (1977). *Filipino Games*, Quezon City (Omar Publications).

English. Thus it behooves upon every player to study his moves well to avoid the temptation of backtracking.

Two persons usually play the **dama**. To other peoples like the Americans and Englishmen, it is played on a chess-board. The Filipinos, however, play it on crisscross lines. There is practically no difference in how either play it. The movements are always a single step, except when it captures and leaps over one step. The objective of the game, whether it is **dama** or checkers, is to capture the most, if not all pawns. The one who kills all the enemies wins. The pawn that reaches the enemy fortresses - there are five of it in the **dama** - gets promoted: it becomes a dame: or **king** to the checkers habitues. As such, it becomes powerful because it is empowered to move by leaps from end to end of the line, if so desired. Incidentally, the **dama** is distinguished from the other pawns by crowning, meaning another pawn is placed atop it. In chess, a pawn that achieves the feat of the **dama** gets promoted likewise by becoming a rook. The pawns that Filipinos are habituated to using includes beverage corks, stones, shells and sometimes buttons. When the beverage cork is used, one player uses it in a rightside up manner, while the other in an upside-down manner, so as to make them distinguishable and prevent possible confusion. Checker habitues, on the other hand, use round wooden pegs.

**Dama** has much to concede to chess. The latter is more imaginative than the former. Its pawns are more symbolic. Knight, bishop, rook, queen, king- they are really more representative of real life characters. But beyond these, the difference becomes insignificant. The **dama** has 12 pawns, but so does chess. The dama pawns move diagonally and in single steps, except when capturing an enemy. While chess pawns move in various directions the knight in L-shape movements, the bishop diagonally and by great leaps, if so desired; the pawns and rook straight ahead but with the former by single steps, while the latter by great distances when necessary; the king and queen flexibly and versatily, with the distinction that the former is limited to just a single step each time, while the latter by leaps and bounds, according to expediency.

The **dama** may not be as encompassing as chess in terms of its intellectual possibilities which has been pronounced to be infinite, but

this nevertheless doesn't make it any less challenging to the intellect.  
For it possesses qualities that are no less interesting.

The rules seen here have much to do with the game of Spanish checkers. The large diagonal is found in the Spanish game on the right. When a piece is touched, it must move mandatorily. Capturing is mandatory and one cannot eat backwards with the pawns. There is a long (powerful) king - dama - that can move in all directions. A pawn can only capture forward. If the pawn is promoted to lady capturing enemy pieces and can keep capturing enemy pawns backwards, you will have to crown first. Then it is the opponent's turn to move. The opponent can move or protect his threatened pawn. In the Spanish game the piece is always called pawn and the crowned piece is always called dama - lady / queen.

### **8.10.2 1980 Prof. Mellie Leandicho Lopez**

There is an in-depth study on the Filipino checkers<sup>339</sup>.  
Nr. 78 Queen - dama - (Chess), Tagalog, Cabanatuan City, Nueva Ecija, Island huzôn. (Dama literally means queen).

#### **Props:**

a small wooden board, about 10 or 11 inches square, with a diagram. If a board is not available, the diagram may be drawn on the ground, table top, or doorstep. 24 Pieces (pitsás) or **men** (12 for each player) using any of the following: small sections of bamboos, stones, beans, colored tiles, broken china, beads, bottle caps (the important point is to use whatever is available

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<sup>339</sup> **LEANDICHO LÓPEZ, Mellie** (1980). A study of Philippine Games, Quezon City, Philippines.

so long as the pitsás of one player can be distinguished from those of his opponent. The popular ones used in Nueva Ecija are stones against bottle caps).

### **Pre-game:**

Formation – the 2 players sit across each other with the diagram between them. Each player places his **men** at the intersection of the lines of the diagram. Object: the ultimate object of the game is to capture all of opponent's **men** especially the **queen**. Basic rule: every move (tulak or kilos) is always forward (pasulong or abante) to an intersection, never backward (atrasan), except for the **queen** (dama).

### **Movements:**

1. the first player moves his stone to an intersection. The other player moves his bottle cap. note: the various moves of each player depend on his own technique and strategy. Each strives to move his pieces toward the line directly in front of his opponent, in order to have a powerful **dama** and at the same time **eat** (kain) as many of his opponent's pieces along the way).
2. Any player **eats** or captures an opponent's pitsa that stand in the next intersection by jumping to the empty intersection behind it. (the successful player removes the captured piece)
3. The player who succeeds in making one of his pitsas reach the first line on the opponent's side gets a **queen** (dama). (note: the **queen** is the most powerful piece on the board. Skillful use of the **queen** is a great asset in winning the game)
  - (a) the **queen** can move any distance in any straight line
  - (b) she can move forward, backward, sideways, or diagonally as far **men** may stop her as her path is clear; only one of her own in her progress in a line.
  - (c) she may **eat** or capture any opponent exposed to her direct approach.
4. The player who succeeds in **eating** or capturing most or all of his opponent's pieces wins. Some players do not wait for an opponent to capture all their **men**. When they realize that their chances of winning is hopeless, they declare, **Tale na ako** (meaning, **I lose**) and the game ends. There are instances during the game when an opponent would intentionally sacrifice one of his **men** and force the other player to **eat** it. This is a strategic move meant to improve the position of the player

involved or a move to trap a **queen** or a piece that is about to be a **queen**. There is a cardinal rule in Philippine **dama** that every time a player puts one of his pitsás in the path of an opponent, that opponent must eat, whether he likes it or not. The moment a player's piece becomes a **queen**, it is the responsibility of that player to make that pitsá easily recognized by the opponent, obviously because of the **queen's** many powers. If the new **queen** is a bottle cap, he gets another cap and puts it on top of the new **queen**. If he has a stone for a new **queen**, he gets one of the opponent and places his **stone queen** inside the cap. In other words, the new **queen** must be different from the other pieces. There is no **king** in this Philippine version of chess. The pieces are identical and only one, the **queen** has a rank and special powers but she has to achieve and work for that rank.

After this, there follows a whole page with comments on the Chinese Chess, chess in the United States, checkers in Hawaii, and considerations on the active role of king or queen in civilizations. The writer, a teacher who moved to the United States, considered checkers a form of chess. Anyway, she is very aware of everything that was published in regards of games and mind games.

The word 'atrasan', as the text says, is Spanish and means to move backward. The word 'eat' means to eat in Spanish and is nothing other than the word used in the game of Spanish checkers to refer to capturing pieces. It is also stated here in the text that its origin is Spanish. Noteworthy is the variety of uses of 'Queen'. Dama here literally means 'Queen'. In Spain the crowned pawn has always the same meaning, the same as in chess, i.e. dama or reina.

### 8.10.3 1925 Elsdon Best

Best<sup>340</sup> claims the following regarding checkers on Hawaii:

IV: Games and pastimes requiring calculation, mental alertness or memorising powers.

Page 60

(....) Ngati-Porou tribe: *Tuta Nihoniho*, of the same tribe, stated that the European game of draughts was introduced into that district in the time of his grandfather, probably by sailors, or early traders, or missionaries. In the far off Hawaiian Isles, a game resembling draughts was played, and known by 2 names, **mu** and **konane**. This word **mu** is also the Maori name for our game of draughts (**mu and kaimu**), and as **mu** is the Maori pronunciation of our world move, it has been held by some that it was derived from that word, so often ejaculated by our draughts players.....

Page 82

(....) East Coast natives state that **Mu Panihi** (Spanish draughts) used to be played among them; moving backward was allowed in this game. This form of the game was probably introduced by some strolling Paniora (Spaniard) in the early days of European settlement. I knew a member of that people who was living on the coast some 50 years ago.

#### **A belated note:**

I have been informed that in the Spanish game of draughts a great number of pieces are employed, and it is known that Spanish vessels visited the Hawaiian Isles as early as the 16th century.....

It seems not improbably that the Spanish form of the game of draughts was introduced into the Hawaiian Isles in the 16th or 17th century by Spanish voyagers, some of whom certainly visited the group. The Hawaiian tradition of shipwrecked white folk living among them many generations ago probably refers to Spanish folk.

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<sup>340</sup> **BEST, Elsdon** (1925). Games and pastimes of the Maori, Wellington. (New Zealand Dominion Museum, Bulletin No. 8) Part IV; Games and pastimes requiring calculation, mental alertness, or memorising powers.

## 8.11 William Shelley Branch

It has not been given much attention in the history of checkers to the checkers historian William Shelley Branch (1854-1933), who was like José Brunet and Bellet<sup>341</sup>, of the opinion that the game of alquerque of 12 was a precursor of the current game of checkers. Branch was truly a pioneer in his historical work on checkers, which he published in 1911 and 1912 in *The Pittsburgh Leader* (USA). He was well underway with his hypothesis about the origin of checkers, suggesting that the game was played on a board with stripes around 1300. This date seems too early to me. It is very likely that we have to place the date a century later. It is enough to indicate here the following brief items from this historian<sup>342</sup>:

12.11.1911

As I am now parting with the old **Alquerque** board I may mention that a chess board is not required for draughts at all. Its use is customary and convenient, but the game can be played without it and has been. It could be played on a board of 32 spots or circles, but I think the best would be (apart from a chess board) **the Lallement Draughts board....**

14.1.1912

A board on the same principle as the **Lallement** has been used for centuries in the Philippine Islands.

26.11.1911

As to the chessboard, we use it, but our game does not require it, and could have had its own special board from the first, if the players had thought of it and devised it. As I have pointed out, and as many knew before, checkers can be played and is played on a board of

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<sup>341</sup> **BRUNET Y BELLET, José** (1891). *El Ajedrez, Investigaciones sobre su origen*, Barcelona.

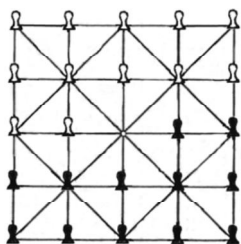
<sup>342</sup> **BRANCH, William Shelley** (1911). *The history of checkers from the earliest known date. Its evolution and growth*, Cheltenham, England. Written for *Pittsburg Leader* between October 8, 1911 - April 14, 1912.

intersecting lines; and also on a board of 32 squares or diamonds rather, invented by a noted French draughtsplayer, M. Lallement. Our game is quite independent of the chessboard, if we choose to make it so. What is come to it is that the game of checkers is, including its more elementary form, much older than the board we play it on, so far as draughts is concerned. The board, in an unchecked state, is older than chess, as it was used for a dice game in India before chess was invented. Both chess players and checker players have taken a board that belongs to somebody else!

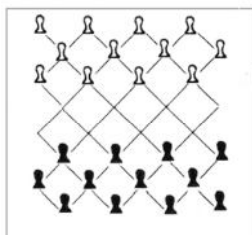
If we can believe Branch, we deduce from this that the pattern of the andarraya game was already some centuries old. Our game of andarraya can be taken from the chessboard in the fifteenth century, but it may equally be possible that the construction of the andarraya board already existed longer before in Spain.

In all likelihood we can admit that andarraya, as was discovered by Rob Jansen, was a game that was practiced before the Spanish checkers, using the chessboard. It was an intermediate option between two games:

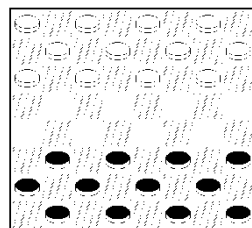
the ancient game of alquerque of 12 and the game on a chessboard, as indicated in the schemes below.



**Alquerque-12**



**Andarraya**

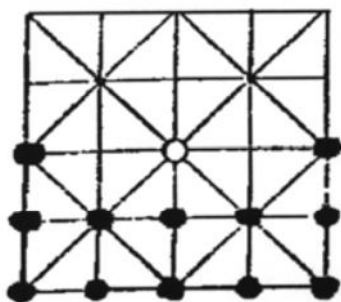


**Spanish Checkers**  
Black starts the game

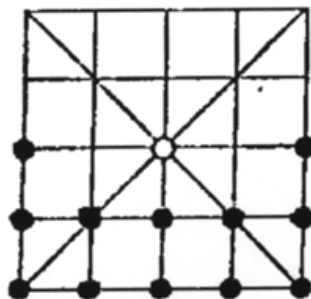


## 8.12 Catch the Hare

A similar situation is probably found in other games as well. As Alfonso X the Wise<sup>343</sup> described, the game of *catch the hare* in 1283. This pastime, according to Culin<sup>344</sup>, was called ***coyote y pollos*** by Pagago Indians (Arizona) and Culin himself says that it is go the European origin. Over time the game was simplified and so the pastime of *coyote* was developed, which was practiced in Mexico<sup>345</sup>. The simplification was carried out in the game and so was finally born the Hare game. This entertainment, according to Culin (1907: 798), was practiced at the end of the twentieth century in Spain and this pastime was played under the name of *las liebres y el indio* in New Mexico (Culin, 1907: 79). This way we obtain the following schemes:



1.Catch the hare  
2.Coyote y pollos

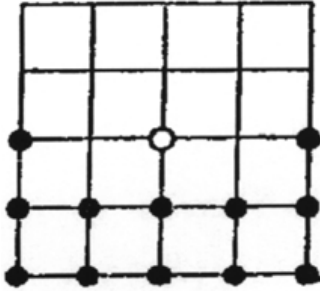


Coyote

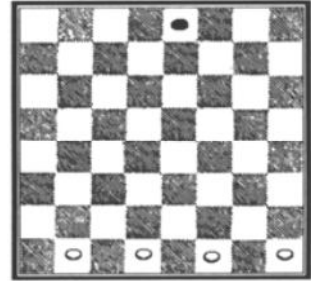
<sup>343</sup> **ALFONSO X EL SABIO** (1283/1987). Libro del Ajedrez, Dados y Tablas. Reprint Madrid, 1987.

<sup>344</sup> **CULIN, Stewart** (1907). Games of the North American Indians, Washington, p. 79.

<sup>345</sup> **CULIN, Stewart** (1898). (d) Chess and Playing cards. Washington, p. 876.

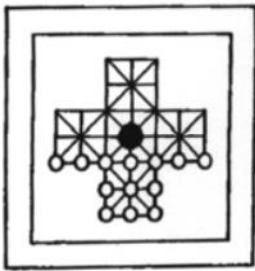


**Juego de la liebre**  
**The Hare game**

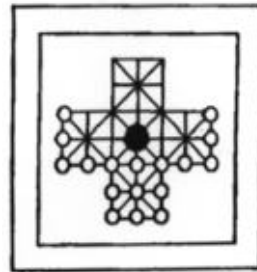


**Caza el lobo**

Probably the English game of *fox and geese* is even older than the catch the hare game. This pastime is called *Renard et les poules*<sup>346</sup> and *Marelle Quintuple*<sup>347</sup> in France. Here we can see the development of the three variants in the game:



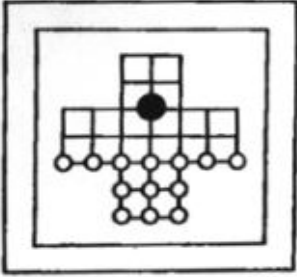
**Fox and geese 1**  
**Poules**



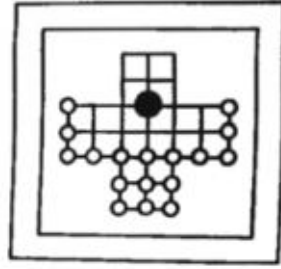
**Fox and geese 2**

<sup>346</sup> **MAISON DES JEUX ACADEMIQUES** (1668). Paris.

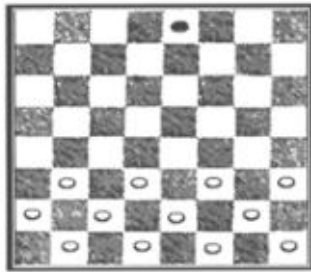
<sup>347</sup> **MOULIDARS, T. DE** (1840). Grande Encyclopédie des Jeux. Paris.



**Fox and geese 3.**



**Fox and geese 4.**



**Renard et les Poules**

## 8.13 The disappearance of the term Andarraya

It may be a strange phenomenon, but the term *andarraya* quickly disappeared from everyday life in Spain in the sixteenth century. The fact that it is still used in different dictionaries is mainly due to the authors of the various dictionaries blindly copying Nebrija's words. But if the term *andarraya* disappeared, would the game do so too? No, the game was saved under the generic name *alquerque* in the sixteenth century and beyond. The test is provided by Covarrubias (1611) and the various dictionaries describing *alquerque* as a game of checkers. The Moor game of alquerque of 12 gradually disappears from Spain now that the Moors should embrace the Catholic religion and Christian customs since 1501.

Jansen<sup>348</sup> clearly perceived this possibility when he wrote: *I felt the gradually growing feeling that the game of checkers was practiced at first on a striped board*. Also Pratesi<sup>349</sup> was accurate when he wrote about draughts (Net) years ago:

*In conclusion it seems quite possible that terms of a family different from dama or dame could indicate draughts during the first time of its existence*. Pratesi's thesis was based on Torrelli's work<sup>350</sup> dealing with table games at the end of his book without specifying them.

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<sup>348</sup> JANSEN, Rob (1993). Draughts Magazine *Hoofdlijn*, Amsterdam. Issue 29, p. 3.

<sup>349</sup> PRATESI, Franco (1991). Draughts Magazine *Het Nieuwe Damspel*. Utrecht, p. 85.

<sup>350</sup> TORELLI, Pomponio (1596). *Trattato del debito del caualliero, di Pomponio Torelli*. In Venetia: appresso Giouan Battista Ciotti senese, al segno dell'Aurora; another edition, In Parma: nella stamperia di Erasmo Viotti, 1596.

For years I knew that the word *alquerque* in Covarrubias' text was some kind of game of checkers, but could not reach a decisive conclusion because I never believed that the alquerque of 12 of Alfonso X the Wise in 1283 could have been a game of checkers. After studying Covarrubias' text a lot I finally came to the conclusion that the game of alquerque was nothing more than the game of andarraya or eventually the stripe system of andarraya placed on a chessboard<sup>351</sup>.

Now we study Covarrubias' following words:

**- escaque:**

llamamos escaques las casas quadradas del tablero del acedrez o los ángulos de los quadros de la tabla del alquerque, que se juega con pedrecitas blancas y negras, y suelen comer con una, dos y tres, y este parece ser el juego antiguo, que llamavan de los ladroncillos, del qual hazen mención los poetas. **Ouidio, De Arte Amandi; Cautaque non stulte latronum praelia ludat, - Unus cum gemino calculus hoste perit.** Quando con una piedra que da al contrario le gana dos, saltando de una en otra casa, **Marcial: Hic mihi bissenno numeratur tessaera puncto, - Calculus hic gemino discolor hoste perit.**

**Loose translation:**

We call squares the square boxes of the chessboard or the corners of the squares of the alquerque board, that one plays with white and black small stones and where the players usually capture one, two or three pieces, and this seems to be the old game, that was called the old robber game of which the poets

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<sup>351</sup> **COVARRUBIAS, Sebastian de** (1611). Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española. Madrid, 1611. Edición de Martín de Riquer de la Real Academia Española, Editorial Alta Fulla, Barcelona, 1987.

make mention. **Ouidio, De Arte Amandi; Cautaque non stulte latronum praelia ludat, - Unus cum gemino calculus hoste perit.** When a player gives his piece to the enemy and he wins two, jumping from one house to another one. **Marcial: Hic mihi bissono numeratur tessaera puncto, - Calculus hic gemino discolor hoste perit.**

We see that the angles of the tables that Covarrubias quotes here refer to the andarraya board. Covarrubias leaves to be captured, more than 3 pieces in such alquerque, as is the case in checkers. With the game of alquerque of 12, where you can also capture back, you can do so for more than 3 pieces, so I do not think this last game appears in Covarrubias' texts.

#### **- alquerque**

Alquerque es un juego de piedrecillas, sobre un tablero rayado que haze diversos quadros, y por las rayas van moviéndose, y quando hallan tercera casa vacía del contrario, passan a ella, ganándole la piedra que estava en medio; que algunas vezes acaece ser dos y tres, y si pudiendo tomar, no lo haze, pierde la suya, y por termino propio se la soplan. En griego se llama este juego **schyraphia**, (.....).

El padre Guadix<sup>352</sup> dize que el nombre **alquerque** es arábigo, y lo mesmo que en castellano llamamos castro, porque tiene semejança el tablero rayado donde se juega, a la castramentación lineada en planta. Diego de Urrea dize ser juego de pedreçuelas sobre rayas, y que en su término arábigo es **herequetum**, que vale movimiento, del verbo **hereque**, que significa mover, porque las pedreçuelas se van moviendo de uno

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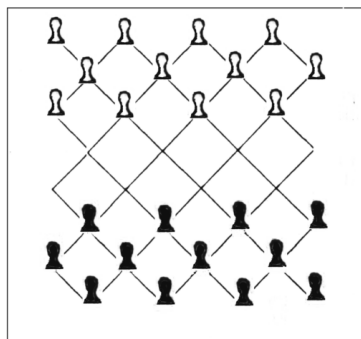
<sup>352</sup> **GUADIX, Diego de** (1593). Recopilación de algunos nombres arábigos que los moros .. pusieron a algunas ciudades ... con algunos vocablos y verbos arábigos.. de que comúnmente se usa en las lenguas latina, española e italiana. (Manuscript in the Bibliothek Colombina – Sevilla).

a otro ángulo. Deste mesmo verbo trae origen la palabra harre aquí, por **arrequé**, que vale tanto como **muévete**..

### **Loose translation:**

Alquerque is a game with stones on a line board with several squares, and the stones move along the lines. When there is an open third square of the enemy the stone can jump to this place, winning a piece that stood in the middle; in some cases it may be two or three stones. And when one has to capture with a stone and fails to do this, then this stone is lost, and one blows the stone. In Greek they call this game **schyraphia**, (.....).

Father Guadix says that the name alquerque is Arabic and the same that we in Castilian call Castro, because the line boards on which one plays resemble the regular ground patterns of army camps. Diego de Urrea calls it a pebbles play on lines and says that the Arabic term is herequetum which means movement; from the verb hereque - to move, because the pebbles move from one end to a different angle. The same verb is the origin of the word harre here for arrequé, which means moving yourself.



**Andarraya in the fifteenth century is the game  
of alquerque in the sixteenth century**

- Soplar

En ciertos juegos del alquerque llaman soplar el tomar la pieza del contrario, que pudo ganar con ella y no lo hizo.

### **Loose translation:**

In some alquerque games they use the term blow for the elimination of an enemy piece that forgot to capture.

The strange thing here in Spanish checkers of the sixteenth century called Marro de punta is that it was practiced on a chessboard and capturing was mandatory. Maybe<sup>353</sup> this same game was called *au dames* in France by Rabelais, in which it is allowed to blow, because there was another French game called *au forcé*<sup>354</sup> in 1535. Possibly the latter term was used for mandatory capturing. Some years later in 1542 the term was changed to *forçat*<sup>355</sup>.

With Rob Jansen's discovery of the term *andarraya* he finally had the Castilian name for Marro de Punta, which I had been looking for over many years.

Since there are no documents, we can only guess that there were intermediate steps in *andarraya* on the chessboard. In the final stage we see a game that is played diagonally and why not orthogonally. We still cannot consider this to be draughts,

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<sup>353</sup> There is a lot of doubt about this. The terms *au forcé* and *forçat* were also used in French board and card games. Take a look at the chapter on *Dama* where François Rabelais' work is described.

<sup>354</sup> **RABELAIS, François** (1535). *La vie inestimable du grand Gargantua, père de Pantagruel*, Lyon.

<sup>355</sup> **RABELAIS François** (1542). *Oeuvres complètes*. Edition établie, annotée et préfacée par G. Demerson, Paris 1973.



because in this game we have not found documentary evidence that players used a crowned piece by the name of dama or king.

The next step then was that the pawn once reaching the eighth rank was crowned to Dama and could move a long step in any direction. But again there are no written proofs in this respect. So since there are no documentary proofs, we can only guess how the different stages were in this andarraya game in the 15th century. My idea in 1997 in my draughts historical book that the game might have had a short king<sup>356</sup> was rightly negated by Dr. Van der Stoep<sup>357</sup>, because as I already indicated in that book “It is clear that we need to find even more material as evidence to rigorously affirm this”.

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<sup>356</sup> **WESTERVELD, Govert** (1997) La influencia de la reina Isabel la Católica sobre la nueva dama poderosa en el origen del juego de las damas y el ajedrez moderno. En estrecha colaboración con Rob Jansen. Beniel, España, p. 78.

<sup>357</sup> **STOEP, Arie van der** (2005) Draughts in relation to chess and alquerque, pp. 142-144.

## **9 ALQUERQUE-12**

### **9.1 Alquerque-12 links with the Roman Empire.**

If the alquerque-12 game, the precursor of the draughts game had nothing to do with Egypt and Greece in which places it was then played and what was, in fact, the country of origin? There are some vague indications that Alquerque-12 could have been played in Roman times. However, there are no concrete proofs of that.

#### **9.1.1 The Alquerque-12 drawing in Jerusalem.**

On the long road that ascends to the place where Jesus Christ was crucified, known as “Painful Way” (“Way of sorrows” or “Way of the cross”), for this reason, a clear alquerque-12 drawing will be found on one of the slabs that form the floor of Roman Catholic “Chapel of Condemnation”.



**Drawing in the Roman Catholic Chapel of Condemnation.  
Photo: Courtesy of © Dr. Carl Rasmussen**

The chronology that can be established for this drawing would be between the Roman and the Medieval period. The Spanish Archaeologist José Manuel Hidalgo Cuñarro thinks that the design is of the Roman period.

### **Roman Period**

The site in the vicinity of the church of Condemnation was in the Roman times the space of the seat of Pontius Pilate, located in the Antonia fortress, and the status of the hall of judgment. *John 18:28*: "Then they led Jesus from Caiaphas unto the hall of judgment". Jesus was condemned to death by Pontius Pilate, as per *John 19:16*: "Therefore, he delivered him unto them to be crucified". Inside the church (on its western ground), and outside the chapel, are vast stones, which were part of the Roman pavement dated to the 2nd C.

### **Crusaders period**

An earlier chapel was located at the site of the Condemnation chapel. The date of its structure is to the years 1229-1244. It became ruins in the 13th C. Saint Francis established the Franciscan order. He was an Italian who lived in the late 12th C. The Franciscans presence in the Holy Land started in the first 13th C, when they resided in a small house (station 5) in via Dolorosa. In 1342 Pope Clement VI declared that the Franciscans are the legal custodians of the Holy places ("Custodia Terroe Sanctoe"). This custody is still in effect to date.

### **Late Ottoman period**

The Franciscans built the new church during the years 1903-1904, on the ruins of the Crusaders chapel. Large Roman flagstones were discovered under the ruins and along the way to the Convent of the Sisters of Zion - which is adjacent to the site. These pavement slabs were associated with the site of the

judgment, based on the Biblical verse that describes this situation (*John 19:13*) as follows: "Therefore, when Pilate heard that saying he brought Jesus forth and he sat down in the judgment seat in an area that is called the *Pavement*, but in the Hebrew, Gabbatha<sup>358</sup>".



**The Painful Way (Via Dolorosa), beginning at St. Stephen's Gate. Tower of Antonia. Jerusalem (about 1920).**

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<sup>358</sup> Texts: Courtesy of Dr. Carl Rasmussen.

### 9.1.2 The Alquerque-12 drawing in Lisbon

In the Town Museum of Lisbon (Portugal) we can find a drawing of the alquerque-12 game on a lid of a sarcophagus from the Roman period that is coming from the St. Jorge Castle.

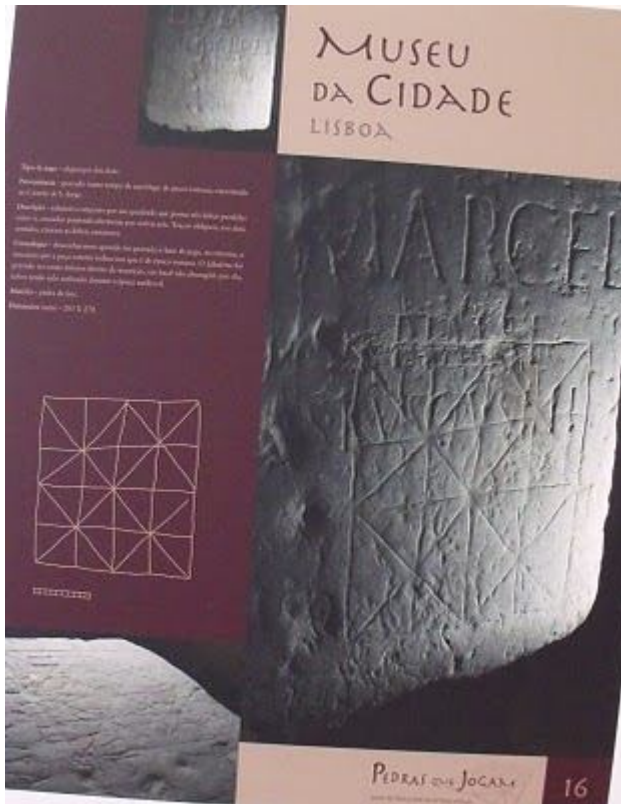


Photo: <http://prosimetron.blogspot.com>

In the cultural center of Ferreira do Zêzere an exhibition had been organized between the 29th April 2004 till 23th June

2004, in partnership with the primary and secondary school Pedro Ferreiro: department of mathematics, faculty of science of the University of Lisbon, and the Lisbon City Council, under the name of “Pedras que Jogam” (Pieces that play). Such as we can learn from the public folder, the board has been drawn over the Latin letters, and this is from a later period so that the probability of a true Roman game is quite difficult.



**St. Jorge Castle in Lisbon**  
**Photo: Courtes of © Louis-Yagera**

### 9.1.3 The Alquerque-12 drawing at Munigua - Spain.

The boardgames of the ancient Roman town Munigua – (Mulva, Villanueva del Río y Minas, Sevilla) were revealed in 1993 by Fernando Fernández Gómez<sup>359</sup>, doctor in History.



**Dr. Fernando Fernández Gómez**

The stone of the following photo has on the back side a drawing of the boardgame alquerque-9 (Moris game with 9 pieces). On the front side, the stone has an engraving of the alquerque-12 game. This nice piece is now in the Archaeological Museum (Museo arqueológico) of Sevilla. The interesting fact of this stone is that two boardgames can simultaneously be exercised. As reinforcement of a possible Roman boardgame, in the case of alquerque-12, it is necessary to mention that another fragment of a similar stone was found of alquerque-12. It was Dr. Theodor Hauschild who had given permission to Dr. Fernández Gómez to publish the alquerque-12 board that was found during excavations by the Instituto arqueológico alemán de Madrid in the eighties.

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<sup>359</sup> **FERNÁNDEZ GÓMEZ, Fernando** (1997). Alquerque de nueve y tres en raya: Juego romanos documentados en Mulva (Sevilla). In: Revista de arqueología, número 193, pp. 26-35.



The Alquerque-12 drawing at Munigua, 1-2 century A.D.  
Photo: Courtesy of © Dr. Fernando Fernández Gómez



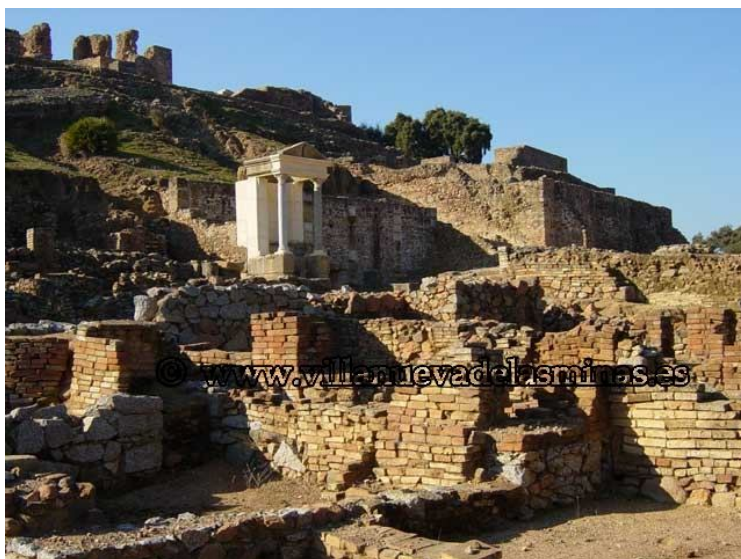
The Alquerque-9 drawing at Munigua, 1-2 century A.C.  
Photo: Courtesy of © Dr. Fernando Fernández Gómez





**The alquerque-9 drawing at Munigua, 1-2 century A.D.**  
**Photo: Courtesy of © José Manuel Lara Martín**  
**(<http://www.villanuevadelasminas.es>)**

Finally, it is important to highlight the importance of these two alquerque-12 boards of Munigua already in Roman time because till now the Nine men's morris and Latrunculum are much better known in our literature on this subject. This could discard the widespread idea that the alquerque-12 game would have come into the Iberian Peninsula with the Muslim invasion. These two boards could be the proofs that the game already existed in Spain before 711. However, to determine the exact date of the stones, that is work for the experts.



**The ancient Roman town Munigua (Mulva).**

**Photo: [www.villanuevadelasminas.es](http://www.villanuevadelasminas.es)**

Munigua or Mulva, is an archaeological place located in the Sierra Morena, 8 km from the Seville town of Villanueva del Río and Minas. There is a document of 1537 that already speaks about this place, and also Ambrosios de Morales in 1565 showed interest in this ancient Roman Town, when he referred to Alonso Chacon (1540-1599), who<sup>360</sup> became reader of theology and rector of the College of St. Thomas Aquinas at Sevilla. So there are strong indications now that Alonso Chacón was the discoverer of this city. There was even a book about

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<sup>360</sup> **BELÉN, María; DEAMOS, María Belén, BELTRAN FORTES, José** (2000). Las instituciones en el origen y desarrollo de la arqueología en España, pp. 44-46.

this city<sup>361</sup> that describes the research done in the years 1756 and 1757. It was investigated again in 1765 when two researchers at the Academia de Buenas Letras de Sevilla visited the ruins, among them was Thomas Andrew of Gusseme.



**The ancient Roman town Munigua (Mulva).**

**Photo: [www.villanuevadelasminas.es](http://www.villanuevadelasminas.es)**

These scholars correctly identified this place as a sanctuary, but the popular tradition still called it “Castle of Mulva”. Munigua had only two periods of occupation, a pre-Roman one since the fourth century B.C. that lasts until the time of Augustus and another fully Roman one, which extends to V and VI century A.D.

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<sup>361</sup> **CORTÉS, Sebastián Antonio de & CUENTAS ZAYAS, José de** (1773). De dos inscripciones. Anécdotas en que se hace memoria de un municipio antiguo llamado muniguense...

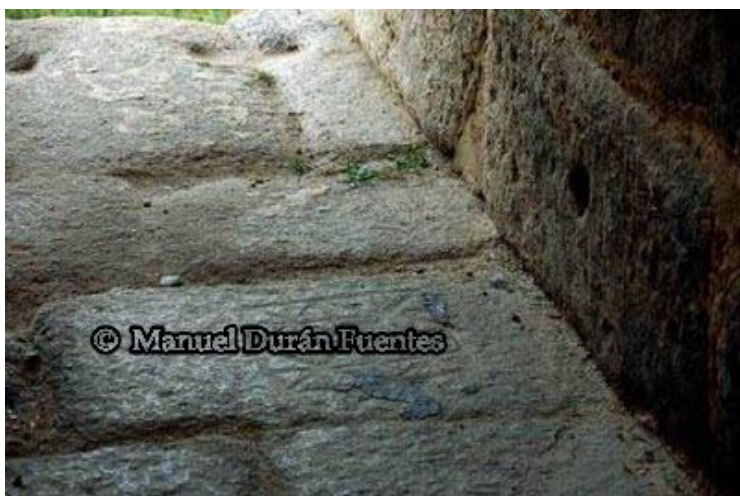
The city had its peak and best period in the second century, and as from the fourth century it began to decline, becoming the process of considerable decline in the population more evident between V and VI century. Islamic occupation has been found until the eight century due to certain Almohad buildings. In those years, the population center is disappearing from the area, abandoning the city.



**The ancient Roman town Munigua (Mulva).**  
**Photo: [www.villanuevadelasminas.es](http://www.villanuevadelasminas.es)**

### 9.1.4 The Alquerque-12 drawing in Mérida.

Thanks to the investigations of Manuel Gumersindo Durán Fuentes<sup>362</sup> we now know more about the alquerque-12 game in the Roman town Mérida. Researchers found the alquerque-12 drawing in a spill flow from a pile of the Roman bridge of Merida. Observing the picture (figuring on page 31 in the article of Duran Fuentes) we observe that the design is engraved on a large granite ashlar and that it is possibly located in its original position.



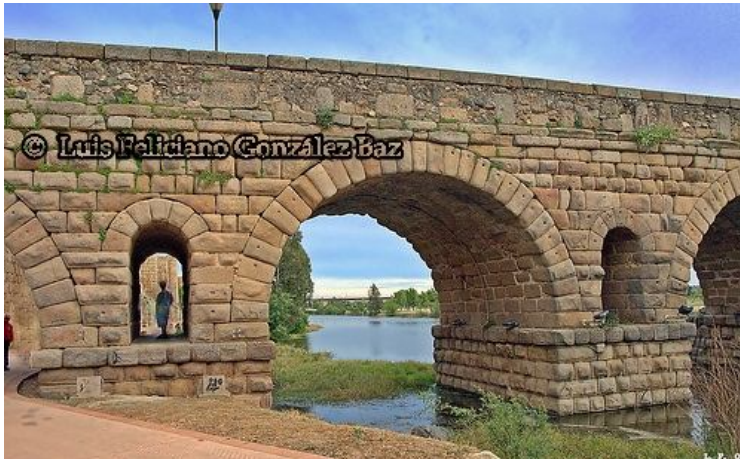
**Alquerque-12 drawing on a pile of the bridge at Mérida.  
Photo: Courtesy of © Manuel Durán Fuentes.**

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<sup>362</sup> **DURÁN FUENTES, Manuel** (2008). Marcas y grafitos en las obras públicas romanas. Publicado en el IV Congreso de las Obras Públicas de la Ciudad Romana TOP. Lugo, pp. 1-37.



Construction of this majestic bridge is one of the most significant deeds for development and expansion of Emerita Augusta. In the following photo we will see a pile of one of the sections of the bridge on Guadiana river. This bridge has many rich cutwaters and padded ashlars.



**Roman Bridge over the river Guadiana at Mérida (Spain).  
Photo: Courtesy of © Luis Feliciano González Baz**

The problem of this alquerque-12 drawing is that the area was easily accessible, and since then the game boards cannot be dated. So to state that this was a drawing in the Roman times is something decidedly controversial.

### 9.1.5 The Alquerque-12 drawing in Barcelona

This plateau of almost complete sandstone originates from the San Iu Place (Plaza de San Lu) in Barcelona, 41 cm (41 x 37 x 10 cm) near to the cathedral of Barcelona. According to the information on hand<sup>363</sup>, this stone was found around the year 1951 and belonged to the rests of the Episcopal building constructed in the Visigothic period (VI century A.D.). Currently this plateau can be seen in the Historical and Town Museum (Museo Histórico) of Barcelona. In this Museum, the drawing is mentioned under the names of “Tabula Lusoria or Tauler de joc (cinc en ratlla).



**Alquerque-12 of the Saint Iu Place at Barcelona**  
**Photo: Courtesy of © Sebastià Giralt**

This block was thought to be probable between the 1st and 5th century A.D.

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<sup>363</sup> **DURAN I SAMPERE, Agustí** (1951). Pedres i auques. Barcelona, Aymá.

However, the archaeologist, José Manuel Hidalgo Cuñarro<sup>364</sup> and Dr. Ulrich Schädler think that the stone in question originates from the Medieval period. This might be justified by the fact that Barcelona has many Jewish archaeological remains, such as tombstones with Hebrew inscriptions that have been reused over time as building materials and that are visible today in the Lloctinent Palau, in the Sant Iu Place, in front of the door to the patio of the Museu Marès. The Jews were already present in Barcelona in the X century.



**Plaza de Sant Iu at Barcelona**  
**Photo: Courtesy of © Jordi Altabas Cardenes**

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<sup>364</sup> One of the experts in the alquerque-12 drawing is this Spanish archaeologist, who has written lately about it in different books and magazines.

**HIDALGO, CUÑARRO, José Manuel** (2009). Los tableros de juego romanos y medievales en Galicia. In: Revista de arqueología, Año 30, Number 340, pp. 32-39.

**HIDALGO, CUÑARRO, José Manuel** (2009). Los tableros de juego romanos y medievales en Galicia. Una aproximación a su estudio en la Península Ibérica (y II). In: Revista de arqueología, Año 30, Number 341, pp. 24-31.



After having rejected the existence of alquerque 12 in Egyptian and Greek times Dr. Van der Stoep has doubts about the Roman times. The Spanish archaeologists also think about the Roman Empire due to the fact that there are various places in Israel and Spain where drawings of Alquerque 12 boards were found in ancient Roman towns<sup>365</sup>. I agree with the archaeologist José Manuel Hidalgo Cuñarro and Dr. Schädler that the date of 0-500 is probably incorrect because of the drawing of alquerque-12 on the sandstone of the Saint Lu Place, but there are other drawings in Spain from the Roman Empire period, so Van der Stoep is right to doubt. Doubts are justified by the fact that in more than one case an alquerque 9 drawing on a stone was found together with an alquerque 12 drawing. On the other hand during the study of the alquerque 12 game I was always confronted with the alquerque 9 drawing and the dating going back to the Roman period. Consequently if the alquerque 9 drawing was from the Roman time<sup>366</sup>, why could alquerque 12 also not be from this period? But we have to be extremely careful with this logical thinking and the possible fact that alquerque 12 was played in the Roman time is work for the archaeologists.

The French Institute GERSAR (Groupe de Recherches et de Sauvegarde de l'Art Rupestre) had registered at the end of 1996 over a thousand alquerque 9 drawings distributed by the

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<sup>365</sup> **BELTRAN DE HEREDIA BERCERO, Julia & MIRÓ I ALAIX, Núria** (2000) Jugar a la Barcelona dels segles XVI-XVIII: objectes de joc y joquines trobats a les excavacions de la ciutat, pp. 214-215

<sup>366</sup> **ROYO GUILLEN, J.I. & GOMEZ LECUBERRI, F.** (2002) Panorama general de los Graffiti murales y de los grabados al aire libre medieval y postmedieval en Aragón: Paralelos y dispersión. In: *Al-Qannis* 8, p. 55 ss  
**FERNANDO GOMEZ, F.** (1997) Alquerque de nueve y tres en raya. Juegos romanos documentados en Mulva (Sevilla). In: *Revista de Arqueologia*, 193, pp. 26-35. (The author confuses the three Men's Morris with Alquerque 12 in Mulva, but his discovery remains to be very important)

countries of the European Continent: Albania, Austria, Belgium, Czech Republic, Denmark, France, Germany, Great Britain, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, USSR, Yugoslavia. Of these thousand drawings 356 were in France in the following way: 7 Gallo-Romans, 99 in shelters and caves, 53 on outdoor surfaces, 103 in civil medieval buildings, 91 in medieval religious buildings<sup>367</sup>.



**Romans playing the dice game.**  
**Roman painting of Osteria (of the Via di Mercurio VI 10,1.19, room b)**  
**in Pompeii. Image: Wikipedia Commons**

We know that three games could have been played on this drawing of the alquerque 12 board, but I presume that the most

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<sup>367</sup> **COSTAS GOBERNA, F. & HIDALGO CUNARRO, J.M. (1998)**  
Reflexiones sobre el Arte Rupestre Prehistórico en Galicia, p. 104

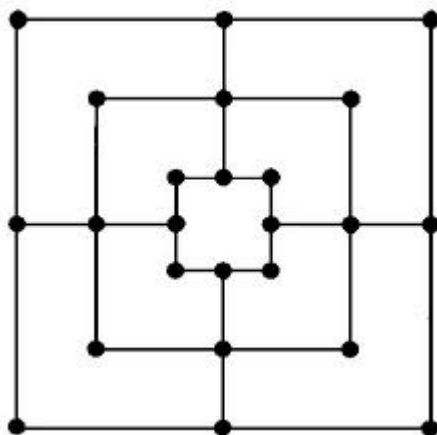
important one was that of the alquerque game, in which each player had 12 pieces. If alquerque 12, the precursor of draughts, had nothing to do with Egypt and Greece, where it was then played, what was the country of origin? Hitherto it was generally accepted that alquerque 12 came from the Arab countries and that it was introduced in Spain after 711.

However, the latest developments in research show that we still have to be careful with this opinion. The alquerque 12 drawing was found in Jerusalem and in some places of Spain related to the Roman Empire. It is true that as long as we have drawings on accessible stones and places for everybody, it is really difficult to state that these drawings are very old, but it is also reasonable to more carefully study these events before forming a final opinion.

## 9.2 Alquerque-12 and the Arab countries.

### 9.2.1 The Alquerque games in the Arab countries.

Hitherto, people accepted that the alquerque-12 came from the Arab countries and that it was introduced in Spain after 711, but we have already shown that this was not true. First of all we study the word ‘alquerque’ that comes from ‘qirq’.



Nine men's Morris (Qirq-1)

A script named *Kitab al-aghani*<sup>368</sup> (The book of Songs) of 967 was written by Abu Al-Faraj al-Isfahani, who lived between c. 897 en 967. He was born in Isfahan, Persia (Iran), but spent his childhood and made his early studies in Baghdad, Iraq. He was a direct descendant of the last of the Umayyad caliphs, Marwan II. Abu Al-Faraj al-Isfahani, connected with the Umayyad rulers in Spain, had kept up a correspondence with them and to

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<sup>368</sup> **ABU AL-FARAJ, Al-Isfahani** (897-967). *Kitab Al-Aghani*, 24 volumes.

have sent them some of his works. He spent his later life in various parts of the Islamic world, in Aleppo with its governor Sayf ad-Dawlah, to whom he dedicated the *Book of Songs*.

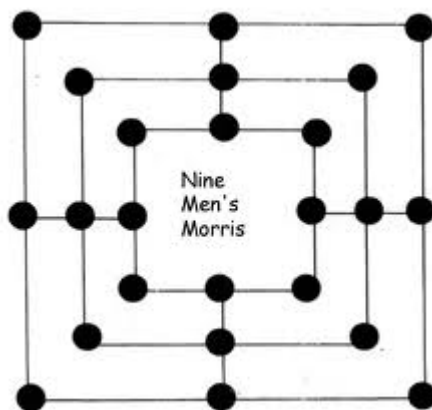


**Illustration from Kitab al-aghani (Book of Songs), 1216-20,  
(public domain)**

The collection of his books consisted of 24 volumes and was recovered in the 19<sup>th</sup> century by the Englishman Edward Lane. Fiske<sup>369</sup> studied this work and refers to qirq, a term used in one of these books, where it is mentioned that an inhabitant of Mecca kept sets of chess, nard, and qirq for this quests' entertainment.

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<sup>369</sup> **FISKE, Willard** (1905). Chess in Iceland and in Icelandic literature with historical notes on other table-games, Florence. P. 255.



Another board of Nine men's Morris (Qirq-2).

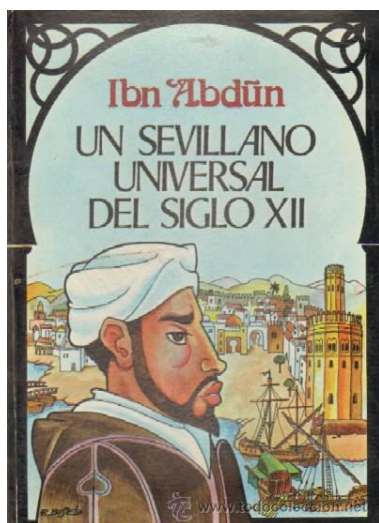
However, in this case we have to do with the game three in a row (Nine men's Morris) and not with the alquerque-12 game. It can be understood from a paragraph of *Ibn Abdun* of Évora (d. 1135) that playing chess, nard, and qirq as well as using divination arrows by means of gambling constituted forbidden activities, since all that distracted an individual from fulfilling his religious duties<sup>370</sup>.

It is clear that at that time more than one player sometimes lost their latest dirham<sup>371</sup>. There does not exist any drawing of the board in question, but surely Ibn Abdun refers to the three in a

<sup>370</sup> Cf. Ibn 'Abdun', ed. É. Lévi-Provençal, *Documents arabes inédits*, 53 (Cairo 1955), translation in his *Séville musulmane*, 118 (Paris 1947) (where qirq is translated "dames"). Cited by **ROSENTHAL, Franz** (1975). *Gambling in Islam*, p. 111.

<sup>371</sup> **LÉVI-PROVENÇAL, E.** (1955). *Documents inédits sur la vie sociale et économique en Occident musulman au Moyen Age*, 1<sup>a</sup> série, *Trois traités hispaniques de hisba* (texto árabe), El Cairo.

row game since the alquerque-12 was played much less. The literature mentions various times the work of *Ibn Abdun*<sup>372</sup>.



**Ibn Abdun. Un Sevillano universal del siglo XII**

<http://www.todocoleccion.net/ibn-abdun-un-sevillano-universal-siglo-xii-comic-1071-x23416462>

In the dictionary *Al Qamûs* of 1414, the word *qirq* is accompanied by a drawing of two board, but they only belong to the games of three on a line (Nine men's Morris) and have

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<sup>372</sup> **LÉVI-PROVENÇAL, E.** (1934) *Journal Asiatique*. De Arabische tekst - t. CCXXIV, avril-juin. Un document sur la vie urbaine et les corps de metier à Seville au début du XIIe siècle, E. Lévi-Provençal, pp. 177-299.

**LÉVI-PROVENÇAL, E.** (1947). Séville musulmane au début de XIIe siècle. Le traité d'Ibn Abdun traduit avec une introduction et des notes par E. Lévi-Provençal, Paris, p. 118.

**LÉVI-PROVENÇAL, E. en GARCIA GOMEZ, Emilio** (1948). Sevilla a comienzos del siglo XII. El tratado de Ibn Abdun, Madrid.

**ARIÉ, Rachel** (1987). España Musulmana, signos VII-XV. Historia de España, dirigida por Manuel Tuñón de Lara. Editorial Labor S.A., Barcelona. P. 318.

nothing to do with Alquerque-12. The Irian lexicography Mohammed B. Ya'qub al-Fayruzabadi (1326-1414) composed this Arab dictionary. Today this term cannot be found any more in the modern Arab dictionaries and is replaced by the word *dris*<sup>373</sup>. However the name 'qirq' or 'qriq' was retained by the Berber of the High Atlas in Morocco until today<sup>374</sup>. Khan<sup>375</sup> gives another reference from al-Lissan al-Arab al-Muhayeet, Vol. 3, p. 69:

Abus Issaq al-Harbi mentioned 'Al-Qirq' with reference to Abu Hurayrah (one of Prophet Mohammad's companions) that it was a game played in Hejaz and was called 'Al-Qirq'. It consisted of a large square and another square inside it and another square inside and the lines of each side of the squares were cut by a straight line and each angle of the square was jointed by a line so that twenty four line (crossings) were created in the game.

Manuel Durán Fuentes<sup>376</sup> makes mention of alquerque-9 boards (Nine men's Morris) in the Roman town of Bosra (Syria) that corresponds to the drawing Qirq-1 and Qirq-2.

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<sup>373</sup> **MURRAY, Harold James Ruthven.** (1952) A history of Board-games other than chess, Oxford, p. 75.

<sup>374</sup> **TOPPER, U.** (1998). Letter of 27 January 1998. Cited by **BERGER, Friedrich** (2004). From circle and square to the image of the world: a possible interpretation for some petroglyphs of merels boards. In: Rock Art Research, Volume 21, Number 1, pp. 11-25. Citation at p. 15.

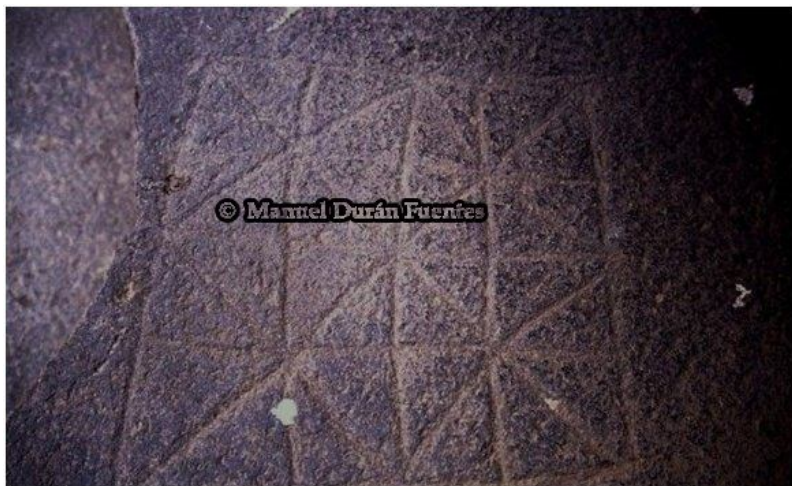
<sup>375</sup> **KHAN, M.** (1995). Letter of 6 February 1995. Cited by **BERGER, Friedrich** (2004). From circle and square to the image of the world: a possible interpretation for some petroglyphs of merels boards. In: Rock Art Research, Volume 21, Number 1, pp. 11-25. Citation at p. 16.

<sup>376</sup> **DURÁN FUENTES, Manuel** (2008). Marcas y grafitos en las obras públicas romanas. Publicado en el IV Congreso de las Obras Públicas de la Ciudad Romana CITOP. Lugo, pp. 1-37. Quoted on page 31.



### 9.2.2 Alquerque-12 in Syria

There are also other game boards incised in a horizontal position on the upper ranks of the theatre and on the wall of the Cistern built by the Romans from village basalt<sup>377</sup>. As these locations have been easily accessible, since then, the game boards cannot be dated.



**Alquerque-12 on the grandstand of the Roman Theater at Bosra**

**Photo: (c) Manuel Durán Fuentes**

Krüger found an additional merels board of type F (Alquerque-9) in a vertical position on the wall of a garden built from re-used basalt stones<sup>378</sup>. This finding introduces a possibility that

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<sup>377</sup> **BERGER, F.** (1999). Spielbretter aus Bosra in Syrien. In: Mitteilungen der ANISA 19/20: 23.

<sup>378</sup> **KRÜGER, S.** (1999). Letter of April, 1999. Cited by **BERGER, Friedrich** (2004). From circle and square to the image of the world: a possible interpretation for some petroglyphs of merels boards. In: Rock Art Research, Volume 21, Number 1, pp. 11-25. Citation at p. 15.

all these boards were made by the Romans between A.D. 106 and 634. Alternatively Arabs could have made them. So far we can see in these references that there are no Arab references outside Spain to the alquerque-12 drawings. Thus, it might be possible that indeed the alquerque-12 game had to do with the Roman Empire and not with the Arab culture. This is quite different from what the researcher José M. Espinel Cejas<sup>379</sup> is claiming, but he was not able to demonstrate the necessary documentary proofs, only vague verbal indications to the High Atlas in Marocco.

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<sup>379</sup> **ESPINEL CEJAS, José Manuel & GARCÍA TALAVERA CASAÑAS, Francisco** (2009). Juegos ganches inéditos.

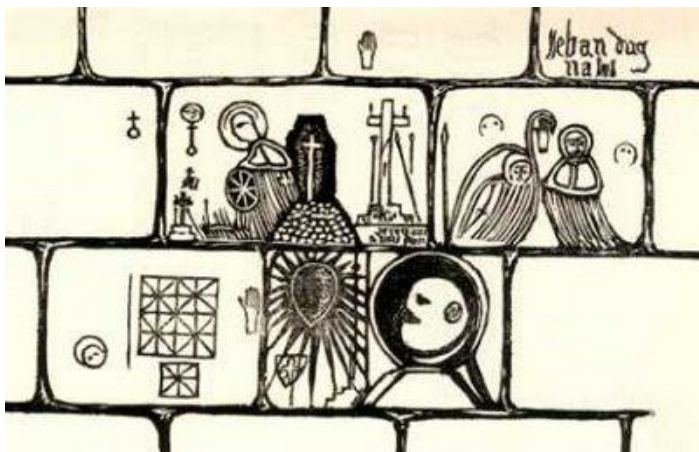
## 9.2.3 Doubtful Alquerque-12 drawings in Europe.

### 9.2.3.1 Spain, the first European country

As far as is known, Spain was the earliest European country where the alquerque-12 was found. Did the alquerque-12 game, such as found in Spain in the Roman towns, come from Jerusalem or other Arabic countries or was it a game that developed in Spain during the occupation of the Romans? Hitherto, we are unable to respond to this.

### 9.2.3.2 Esotermism

However, we have to be cautious in considering all alquerque-12 drawings as a board game. There are many vertical drawings of alquerque-12 that have nothing to do with the board game since they were used for another meaning<sup>380</sup>.



Doubtful Alquerque-12 drawing at Chinon in books

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<sup>380</sup> ALMAZÁN DE GRACIA, Ángel (2003). Esoterismo Templario.

In this way, one can take into account the Knights Templar and their carvings at the Donjon du Coudray, Chinon (France).



**Photograph of the real situation of the doubtful alquerque-12 drawing in the castle of Chinon<sup>381</sup>**

In this photo and the following one, we observe that the drawing, such as appearing in various books, is quite different from the real carving on the wall of the castle of Chinon<sup>382</sup>. In this way, we obtain a complete confusion of the real situation, such as happened and discussed already with the erroneous drawing of the alquerque-12 board of Parker with regards to the

<sup>381</sup> More information can be found in:

[http://www.angolohermes.com/simboli/triplice\\_cinta/centro\\_sacro.html](http://www.angolohermes.com/simboli/triplice_cinta/centro_sacro.html)

<sup>382</sup> **CHARBONNEAU-LASSAY, Louis** (1922). *Le Coeur rayonnant du donjon de Chinon attribué aux Templiers*", Secrétariat des Oeuvres du Sacré-Coeur, Beaux-Livres, Fontenay-Le-Comte.

**LOTH, M.J.** (1915). *L'Omphalos chez les Celtes*, in «Revue des Études anciennes», Luglio-Settembre 1915.

**GUÉNON, René** (1926). *L'idée du Centre dans les Traditions antiques*. In: «Regnabit», 5° anno, n° 12, vol. X, maggio 1926.

Kurnar temple in Egypt. With other words, I still have my doubts if this presumed alquerque-12 board in the castle at Chinon unquestionably has to do with the alquerque-12 game.



**The alleged game of alquerque-12<sup>383</sup>**

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<sup>383</sup> More information can be found in:  
[http://www.angolohermes.com/simboli/triplice\\_cinta/centro\\_sacro.html](http://www.angolohermes.com/simboli/triplice_cinta/centro_sacro.html)

## 9.3 Theories on the Alquerque-12

There are many theories regarding the game of **alquerque**. All checkers historians always evoke the old game of **Alquerque-12**, as described by King Alfonso X the Wise in his book<sup>384</sup>.

### 9.3.1 1890 Joseph Brunet and Bellet

In his book Joseph Brunet and Bellet (1818-1905) made a drawing of an alquerque game with 12 pieces. The historian said the following<sup>385</sup>:

(...) and it is possible and almost probable that the checkers played with 12 white and 12 black pieces in Spain (in France and other countries it's played with more pieces) is nothing but the old mallet applied to the 8x8 chessboard when the game was popularized in the West.

Therefore the Spaniard Brunet and Bellet was the first one to think that the alquerque of 12 may have been a precursor to checkers.

### 9.3.2 1912 William Shelley Branch

William Shelley Branch (1854-1933) believed that the game passed to a chessboard around 1300 and thus began the crowning. This author wrote about the old checkers in the

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<sup>384</sup> **ALFONSO X EL SABIO** (1283/1987). Libro del Ajedrez, Dados y Tablas.. Reprint Madrid, 1987.

<sup>385</sup> **BRUNET Y BELLET, José** (1890). El Ajedrez, Investigaciones sobre su origen, Barcelona, pp. 204-206.

Philippines that's played on a board of lines. This way he could build the following hypothesis on the origin of checkers<sup>386</sup>:

Checkers can be played on a board of lines like **alquerque**. It is a form of **alquerque**, changed from the more ancient variety by reason of having been played on the chessboard with a different arrangement of the men in order to make them run on lines of the same colored squares. This provided the difference between single and double corner. To put it another way, the old **alquerque** as described in the MS Alfonso was our game of drafts in an early stage.

In the history of checkers almost no attention is paid to Branch who had a chesscolumn in the *Cheltenham Examiner* from November 1890 to December 25, 1913 (the closure of the newspaper), a time at which the section was still in the *Cheltenham and Gloucestershire Graphic Chronicle* from 28 February 1914 until his death (January 22, 1933). Apparently he also wrote in the *Cheltenham Free Press* under the pseudonym of "Douglas". In these columns he often wrote about the history of checkers<sup>387</sup>. Branch wrote in *The Draughts World* (December, 1903, issue 3: 222), a monthly newsletter that was published in Glasgow, which was in contact with H.J.R Murray and referring to it he said: *(...)He can read ancient manuscripts in Arabic, Latin, Norman-French, German, Etc. and has some copies of all those dealing with chess -some of the tenth century, etc. Incidentally he has got to know more than anyone else about boardgames in general of before the modern period. He gives "about 1300 A.D." as the date for the origin of the game of draughts as known in England in 1380, and the country of origin -Spain. I agree with him.*

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<sup>386</sup> **BRANCH, William Shelley** (1911). The history of checkers from the earliest known date. Its evolution and growth, Cheltenham, England. Written for Pittsburg Leader between October 8, 1911 - April 14, 1912.

<sup>387</sup> **WHYLD, Ken** (1997). Private communication.

It is interesting to reflect here the fact that Murray (initially) thought of Spain. There is no doubt that Murray had to use much of Branch's initial research, but he did not even mention it anywhere and this caused Branch's name to unfairly and unfortunately fall into oblivion.

### 9.3.3 1952 Murray

The conclusion that **ferses** was draughts seems inevitable, and the life of the name **ferses**, c 1150-1400, confirms this conclusion. What then were its parents? Undoubtedly one parent was chess which provided the board and the name of the draughtsmen, **fers** as long as it was used in chess, then its successor in French, *dame* and after the death of the medieval chess, *peón* in Spanish, *pion* in French, and *pedina* in Italian. The other parent seems to have been **alquerque**, which provided the number of men and the method of capture.

According to Murray the alquerque was a kind of checkers game with no crowning. Checkers originated by adding the crowning taken from chess. This happened in the eleventh century in southern France. Checkers is a cross between two other games, known as chess and alquerque. Checkers was created when the crowning was added to the medieval board game, the alquerque<sup>388</sup>.

### 9.3.4 1966 Kruijswijk

Kruijswijk sort of followed Murray, but forwarded the period a century ahead and according to Kruijswijk the alquerque never knew the crowning:

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<sup>388</sup> **MURRAY, Harold James Ruthven** (1952) A history of Board-games other than chess, Oxford, p. 75.



Alquerque Laat niet met zich damspel vereenzelvigen, want het voor de speelfiguren in alquerque spel is de kans op niet promotie weggelegd<sup>389</sup>.

### **Loose translation:**

Alquerque cannot be identified with checkers, because the fate of the crowning has not been reserved in the game.

### **9.3.5 1981 Dr. Arie van der Stoep**

Checkers is exactly the same game as the medieval alquerque game - that means, both games knew crowning, but passing from a striped board (alquerque) to a chequered board<sup>390</sup>. Van der Stoep argued in a letter<sup>391</sup> that checkers was played in Spain in 1283 on an alquerque board, thus using crowning.

### **9.3.6 1989 Govert Westerveld**

In a long letter dated 05/30/1989 he informed Van der Stoep that alquerque, as it was indicated by King Alfonso X the Wise in 1283, had nothing to do with checkers, but that it was only a precursor of it. There were still more facts to defend his position in a better way, but the time were not very conducive to this.

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<sup>389</sup> **KRUIJSWIJK, Karel Wendel** (1966). Algemene historie en bibliografie van het damspel, Den Haag, pp. 51-56.

<sup>390</sup> **STOEP, Arie van der** (1984). A history of draughts, Rockanje, p. 7.

<sup>391</sup> **STOEP, Arie van der** (1993). Private communication, letter March 25th.

### 9.3.7 1992 Ir. Gerard Bakker

Checkers originated when a crowning queen (queen) was attributed to the pawns in the medieval board game of alquerque, inspired by chess. This happened in the 16th century in Spain. *Bakker* flatly declares that alquerque did not know the crowning:

Het middeleeuwse twaalfstukken (= alquerque) valt niet onder damspel, omdat (...) het geen promotie kende<sup>392</sup>

#### **Loose Translation:**

The medieval game with a set of 12 pieces (= alquerque) is not a checkers game, because (...) it did not know the crowning.

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<sup>392</sup> **BAKKER, Gerard** (1992). Draughts Magazine *Het Nieuwe Damspel*, Utrecht, pp. 64-69.

## 9.4 The etymology of the word Alquerque

The critical etymological dictionary by Corominas defines it<sup>393</sup>:

Tic Tac Toe game, from the Arab **qirq** Id. 1a. doc: 1283, Acedrex Books (Alfonso X the Wise).

Freytag, III, 431.b defines it: **trium scruporum ludus** and defines in detail<sup>394</sup>.



**Prof. Reinhart P. A. Dozy**  
**Painting of Johan Heinrich Neuman**

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<sup>393</sup> **COROMINAS, J. Y PASCUAL, J.A.** (1987). Diccionario crítico etimológico castellano e hispánico, Madrid.

<sup>394</sup> **FREYTAG, G.W.** (1830-1837). Lexicon Arabico-Latinum, 4 Volumes, Halle.

Dozy, Gloss, (1869: 185) considers it of uncertain origin<sup>395</sup>.

*Neuvonen*<sup>396</sup>. Pedro de Alcalá (PALc). shows the Arabic variant: **Querque** (Alcalá, 1505), which should well refer to this game, since PalC. follows Nebrija's nomenclature and it only records *alquerque*, calculorum ludus".

Also the Portuguese word **alguergue**. The **English** qualification that Guevara<sup>397</sup> (1539) applies to **alquerque** should not be taken literally.

The Illustrated Universal Encyclopedia<sup>398</sup> shows:

Alquerque (Etim. - Del ár. *alcarc*.) m. Tres en raya, juego de muchachos. Ver Raya.

### **Loos translation:**

Alquerque (Etim -.*Alcarc* Ar) Tic Tac Toe, a game. See Raya.

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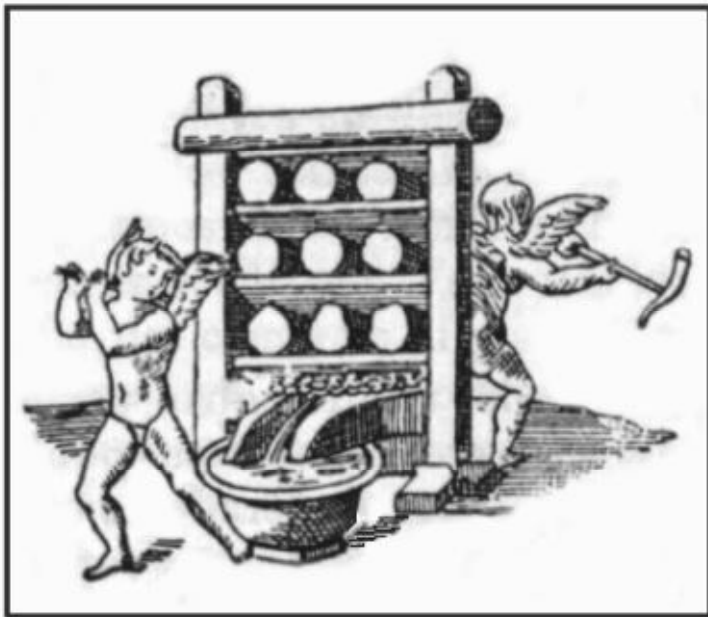
<sup>395</sup> **DOZY, R.P.A. & ENGELMANN, W.H.** (1869). Glossaire des mots espagnols et portugais dérivés de l'arabe, 2.<sup>a</sup> editie, Leyden.

<sup>396</sup> **NEUVONEN, E.K.** (1941). Los Arabismos del español en el siglo XIII, Leipzig, p. 196.

<sup>397</sup> **GUEVARA, Antonio de** (1539) Menosprecio de la Corte y alabanza de la aldea; Aviso de privados y doctrina de cortesanos; De los inventores del arte del marear y de muchos trabajos aque se pasan en las galeras, Valladolid. Herduk, Catedra, Madrid, 1984.

<sup>398</sup> **ENCICLOPEDIA UNIVERSAL ILUSTRADA, EUROPEA-AMERICANA** (1908-1930. 70 volumes, thereafter in 1930-1996 about 40 supplements). Espasa-Calpe, Madrid. Volume 4, 1986, p. 926.

Nowadays the alquerque is the space at the oil mills, in which after the first squeezing the pomace crumbles to extract the oil. Specifically this part of the oil mill is formed by a channel of geometric system of lines. Therefore it is likely that the popularity of this game gave the name to the oil mill and not vice versa. In other languages we can also see the use of the mill, such as in German - Mühle, Dutch - molenspel, Danish - nölle and Swedish -qvarn.



**Roman oil press time**

In alquerque (2x9) is used the term *fazer ferred*, nowadays called Tic Tac Toe, from the manuscript of Alfonso X the

Wise<sup>399</sup>. Could you perhaps refer *fazer ferred* (a jump or the capture of an opponent's piece) to the mechanism in the oil mill in which the second squeezing takes place?

Dozy<sup>400</sup> says that alquerque is of uncertain origin; as the *Acad*<sup>401</sup> and *Eguílaz*<sup>402</sup>, alquerque could come from qáraq or qáriq – a flat and smooth place, only in Freytag<sup>403</sup> the word is attributed to the same source. We could not consult Dozy<sup>404</sup> and Schiaparelli<sup>405</sup>.

The etymology of the word alquerque is misleading. It probably originates from the Arabic word qirq, quirqa. I think it is of Arabic-Spanish origin, because the Moors played this game<sup>406</sup>

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<sup>399</sup> **ALFONSO X EL SABIO** (1283/1987). Libro del Ajedrez, Dados y Tablas.. Reprint Madrid, 1987.

<sup>400</sup> **DOZY, R.P.A. & ENGELMANN, W.H.** (1869). Glossaire des mots espagnols et portugais dérivés de l'arabe, 2.<sup>a</sup> editie, Leyden.

<sup>401</sup> **ACAD** (1884). Real Academia Española, *Diccionario de la Lengua Castellana*.

<sup>402</sup> **EGUÍLAZ Y YANGUAS, Leopoldo de** (1836). Glosario etimológico de las palabras españolas (castellanas, catalanas, gallegas, mallorquinas, portuguesas, valencianas y vascas) de origen oriental (árabe, hebreo, malayo, persa y turco), Granada, 1886, Madrid 1974.

<sup>403</sup> **FREYTAG, G.W.** (1830-1837). Lexicon Arabico-Latinum, 4 Volumes, Halle.

<sup>404</sup> **DOZY, R.P.A.** (1881). Supplement aux Dictionnaires Arabes, two volumes. Leyden 1881. Edition Beyrouth 1968.

<sup>405</sup> **SCHIAPARELLI, C.** (1871). Vocabulista en Arabico. Importante léxico del árabe valenciano, fechado en el siglo XIII y atribuido tentativamente al teólogo, arabista y misionero catalán Ramón Martí.

<sup>406</sup> **CÁRCELES SABATER, Manuel** (1905). Tratado del juego de damas, Madrid, p. 5.

**WHITE, John Griswold** (1897). The antiquity of the game of draught. The Scottish Draught, quarterly, pp. 36-38 and 67-69.

**WHITE, John Griswold** (1899). The Draught player's quarterly review, pp. 2-5.

since the eighth century in Spain and they had their own language. Murray (1952: 37) failed to find alquerque in Arabic, but we still need to know whether he researched well enough and studied the Arabic literature of Spain<sup>407</sup>. The Moors enjoyed playing this game in Spain, and logically it is more convenient to search the origin of the word first in Spanish-Moorish and not in Latin. The word is in the Quamûs dictionary<sup>408</sup>, in the dictionary of Pedro de Alcalá<sup>409</sup> and Lopez Tamarid<sup>410</sup>. More research is needed, and we cannot exclude what Van der Stoep<sup>411</sup> wrote about Zamboni<sup>412</sup>. This linguist says:

er zijn geen Arabische bewijsplaatsen alquerque met in er is geen zou het Arabisch woord waarop kunnen teruggaan Het komt voor alleen in Spanje.. De Spaanse woordvoorraad is vooral Latijns, Sp. Alquerque teruggaan kan op Lat. Calcul (us) want is in LR wisseling een Europese talen of gewoon heel.

#### **Loose translation:**

There are not any Arab evidential texts about alquerque, nor an Arabic word that can be equivalent. It is only found in Spanish. The Spanish vocabulary comes mostly from Latin, alquerque (in Spanish)

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<sup>407</sup> **MURRAY, Harold James Ruthven.** (1952) A history of Board-games other than chess, Oxford.

<sup>408</sup> **QAMÛS** (1400). D Arabic dictionary compiled by the Persian Firuzabadih (according to Lane and Freytag).

<sup>409</sup> **ALCALÁ, Pedro de** (1505). Arte para ligeramente saber la lengua aráviga y Vocabulista arávigo en lengua castellana, 1505. Edition by P. de Lagarde, *Petri Hispani de lingua arabica libri duo*, Göttingen, 1883. There is also a facsimile edition: New York, 1928. Vocabulario del árabe granadino.

<sup>410</sup> **LÓPEZ TAMARID, F.** (1585). compendio de algunos vocablos arábigos introduzidos en la lengua castellana, Granada.. (Reproduced by Mayans in "sus Orígenes", ed. 1737, II 235 ss.

<sup>411</sup> **STOEP, Arie van der** (1984). A history of draughts, Rockanje, p. 76.

<sup>412</sup> **ZAMBONI, Alberto** (1973). Etimologie Friulane e Venete, in *Studie linguistici Friulani III*, pp. 11-61.

may refer to the Latin calcul (us), since a change of LR is quite normal in European languages.

Four alquerque boards together that form 8 x 8 squares were found in the plate closing the roof of the temple of Kurna in Egypt, which is dated to the 14<sup>th</sup> century BC. This way the alquerque board formed a chessboard<sup>413</sup>. (Subsequently revoked by Murray).

A writing in *Kitab al-Aghani* in 967 mentions an inhabitant in Mecca who kept chess games (ASJ-sjatranjat), board games (an-nardat), and alquerque games (qirqat) at home for entertainment of his guests<sup>414</sup>.

As it can be inferred from a sentence by Ibn Abdun, a type of alquerque game (qirq) was practiced in the 12th century in Sevilla, and certainly in the rest of Andalucía on which fans sometimes played passionately their last dirham<sup>415</sup>. Ibn Abdun's work has been quoted in literature several times<sup>416</sup>.

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<sup>413</sup> **MURRAY, Harold James Ruthven.** (1952) A history of Board-games other than chess, Oxford, p. 19.

<sup>414</sup> **FISKE, Willard** (1905). Chess in Iceland and in Icelandic literature with historical notes on other table-games, Florence, p. 255.

<sup>415</sup> **LÉVI-PROVENÇAL, E.** (1955). Documents inédits sur la vie sociale et économique en Occident musulman au Moyen Age, 1<sup>a</sup> série, Trois traités hispaniques de hisba (texto árabe), El Cairo.

<sup>416</sup> **LÉVI-PROVENÇAL, E.** (1934) Journal Asiatique. De Arabische tekst - t. CCXXIV, avril-juin. Un document sur la vie urbaine et les corps de metier à Seville au début du XIIe siècle, E. Lévi-Provençal, pp. 177-299.

**LÉVI-PROVENÇAL, E.** (1947). Séville musulmane au début de XIIe siècle. Le traité d'Ibn Abdun traduit avec une introduction et des notes par E. Lévi-Provençal, Paris, p. 118.

**LÉVI-PROVENÇAL, E. & GARCIA GOMEZ, Emilio** (1948). Sevilla a comienzos del siglo XII. El tratado de Ibn Abdun, Madrid.



The alquerque board, with an initial placement of 12 pieces on both sides, was first found in an image from an English manuscript originally from Cerne Abbey, Dorsetshire. The manuscript was written in the second half of the 13th century and is preserved in Trinity College, Cambridge<sup>417</sup>.

In the Qamus dictionary the word **alquerque** is found next to an image of the most used boards by then<sup>418</sup>. Today this word is no longer found in modern Arabic dictionaries and has been replaced by the word *Dris*<sup>419</sup>.

In Saint Mary of Cavendish's Church, Suffolk, an alquerque board was drawn on a burial in 1570<sup>420</sup>.

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**ARIÉ, Rachel** (1987). España Musulmana, siglos VII-XV. Historia de España, dirigida por Manuel Tuñón de Lara. Editorial Labor S.A., Barcelona, p. 318.

<sup>417</sup> **KRUIJSWIJK, Karel Wendel** (1966). Algemene historie en bibliografie van het damspel, Den Haag, p. 48.

<sup>418</sup> **QAMÛS** (1400). D Arabic dictionary compiled by the Persian Firuzabadih (according to Lane and Freytag).

<sup>419</sup> **MURRAY, Harold James Ruthven.** (1952) A history of Board-games other than chess, Oxford, p. 75.

<sup>420</sup> **KRUIJSWIJK, Karel Wendel** (1966). Algemene historie en bibliografie van het damspel, Den Haag, p. 48.

## 9.5 Descriptions of Alquerque in literature

### 9.5.1 1250 Vetula

The first mention of alquerque is found in a Latin work from the first part of the 13th century. It is known by us as: *De Vetula*<sup>421</sup> and it is attributed to Richard of Fournival (c 1200 - c 1254). This paper refers to alquerque and mill with respectively 12 and 9 pieces<sup>422</sup>.

Book 1, verse 34

"Ludi parvi alii sunt quos scire puellas  
Esse dixi decens: parva sed movere pudebat  
Nuncque magis, quam tunc, pudet illa referre minority.  
Quare ludos praetereo ibi lapillos parva,  
Nunc bis sex, novem nunc vero, captain one tabella.  
Ac ubi sunt bis sex, former captain hostilibus illum  
Ultra quem salit alteruter: nec ibi deciorum  
Exigitur jactus. Vero novem Ubi bene ludunt  
Cum decisi, et eis fine, quando volunt ".

#### Loose translation:

There are other simple games, of which I have said  
that are decent for young girls to know,  
but it is not convenient for me to take what I have  
for granted. And now more than ever it is not appropriate  
to remember these poorly valued issues. So...  
these games where some little pieces, sometimes nine,

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<sup>421</sup> **FOURNIVAL, Richard de** (1225?). British Museum, London. MSS nos. 3353 en 5263

**FOURNIVAL, Richard de** (1470). *Publii Ovidii Nasionis Liber de Vetula* (1470). Keulen.

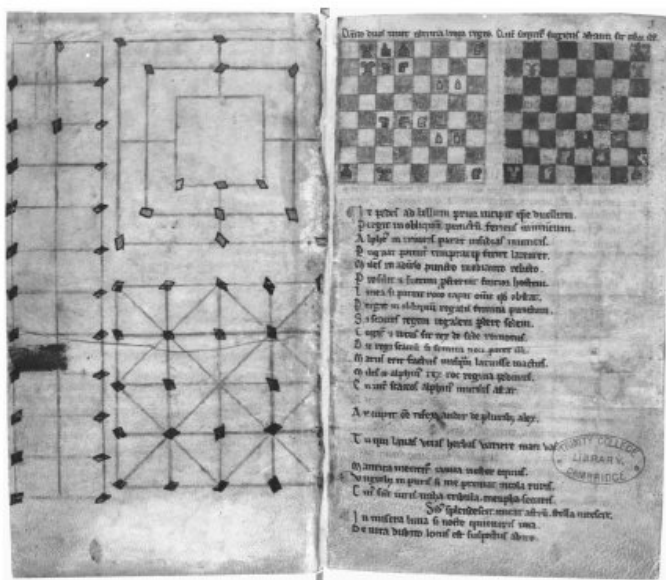
**COCHERIS, Hippolyte** (1861). *La vieille ou les dernières amours d'Ovide*, Paris. Franse paraphrase van *De Vetula* door Jean Lefevre, around 1350.

<sup>422</sup> **KRUIJSWIJK, Karel Wendel** (1966). *Algemene historie en bibliografie van het damspel*, Den Haag (Holland), p. 46.

other times twelve are captured in a board, and when there are twelve, the enemy piece is taken jumping above it. It is not even mandatory to throw a dice. However, when there are nine of them, it is actually played with a dice and it is over whenever you want it to be.

## 9.5.2 1275 The Ms. O.2.45 of Cerne Abbey

An Alquerque 12 drawing has been preserved in a medieval English manuscript from c.1250-1300 A.D.



**Board game diagrams in the MS O.2.45 (1250-1300 A.D.) from Cerne Abbey, Dorset, kept at the Trinity College Library, Cambridge. Courtesy of the Master and Fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge. Photo: Trinity College Library, Cambridge).**

The manuscript is named MS O.2.45 and is now found in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge. It derives from the

Benedictine monastery Cerne Abbey in Dorset<sup>423</sup>, southern England. Folio 2 of the MS shows three lined games, among them the nine men's morris and Alquerque 12, while Folio 3 of the MS shows two drawings of chess<sup>424</sup>.

### 9.5.3 1283 King Alfonso X the Wise

The wisdom recognized in the peaceful King Alfonso X the Wise was undoubtedly rooted in the spread of oriental culture not only in Spain, but throughout the West. The Castilian king in his time was able to gather around him the most specialized Christian, Jewish, and Arab intellectual world and thus wise beautiful manuscripts were written. One was an important work discussing games<sup>425</sup>.

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<sup>423</sup> **KRUIJSWIJK, Karel Wendel** (1966) *Algemene historie en bibliografie van het damspel*, Den Haag (Holland), p. 48

<sup>424</sup> **MICHAELS, Peter** (2001) *Daldos: an almost forgotten dice board game* In: *Board Games Studies*, pp. 19-31, cited on pp. 26-27

<sup>425</sup> **BRUNET Y BELLET, José** (1887). El Códice de D. Alfonso el Sabio sobre el juego de ajedrez. *Revista España Regional*, 3, pp. 412-430.

**BRUNET Y BELLET, José** (1887). *Lettre sur le manuscrit de l'Escorial. La Strategie*, 21 année, 2<sup>o</sup> vol., pp. 41-44.

**STEIGER, Arnald** (1941). *Alfonso el Sabio - libros de acedrex, dados e tablas*, Genève/Zürich/Erlenbach.

**GARCIA MORENCOS, Pilar** (1977). *Libro de ajedrez, dados y tablas de Alfonso X el Sabio*, Madrid.

**GARCIA MORENCOS, Pilar** (1977). *Libro de ajedrez, dados y tablas de Alfonso X el Sabio*, in *Reales Sitios*, Madrid, 15, N<sup>o</sup>. 55, pp 17-28.

**WHITE, John Griswold** (1913). *El juego de ajedrez ordenado por mandado del rey Don Alfonso el Sabio en el año 1283 ..... con una advertencia de .....*, Leipzig. 2 volumes.

**JANER, Florencio** (1871). *Literatura y costumbres españolas del siglo XII* (Inédito). Extracto de los manuscritos de D. Alfonso el Sabio. Año 1238. Era 1321. Extractado de códices inéditos. In: *Revista de España*, XXII, Madrid, pp. 60-68.

Here we reflect the text as King Alfonso X the Wise discusses it in his work in relation to alquerque<sup>426</sup>:

Este es ell alquerque de doze que iuega con todos sus trebeios:  
Pves fablado auemos en los libros desuso de todas las maneras de los iuegos dell acedrex e de los dados e delas tablas, segunt aquellos tres sabios dieron la muestra al rey, e depues los departieron los omnes sabidores de iogar, queremos agora aqui dezir de otros iuegos que fallaron depues los omnes, que non son encuentra destos sobredichos, e pero an parte en ellos, assi como los alquierques que tannen all acedrex e a las tablas e a los dados. E tales y a que tannen all acedrex e a las tablas, e no a los dados. E comencaremos primeramente en ell alquerque de doze por que es mayor de todos los otros alquierques, e se iuega con mas trebeios. Et diremos en quantas maneras se iuega e con quantos trebeios, e por qual razon ha en el parte, acedrex e tablas e dados. Ell acedrex ha en ell parte por que se iuega por seso, e ell alquerque otrossi, e los trebeios con que se iuega semeian a los peones dell acedrex.

E a las tablas: por el mannan que se mannan el iuego, segundo el suyo, e por las sennales o ponen los trebeios. E han y parte los dados por la uentura, ca assi como lancan en auentura los dados en el tablero, a qui haya la mano, assi echan en el alquerque suertes otrossi en auentura qui iuegue primero. E iuegasse en esta manera: en ell alquerque ha de auer ueynt y cinco logares do se puedan poner los trebeios, e los trebeios an a seer ueynt y quatro, e ponen los doze duna color dun cabo e los otros doze dell otra cabo en az.

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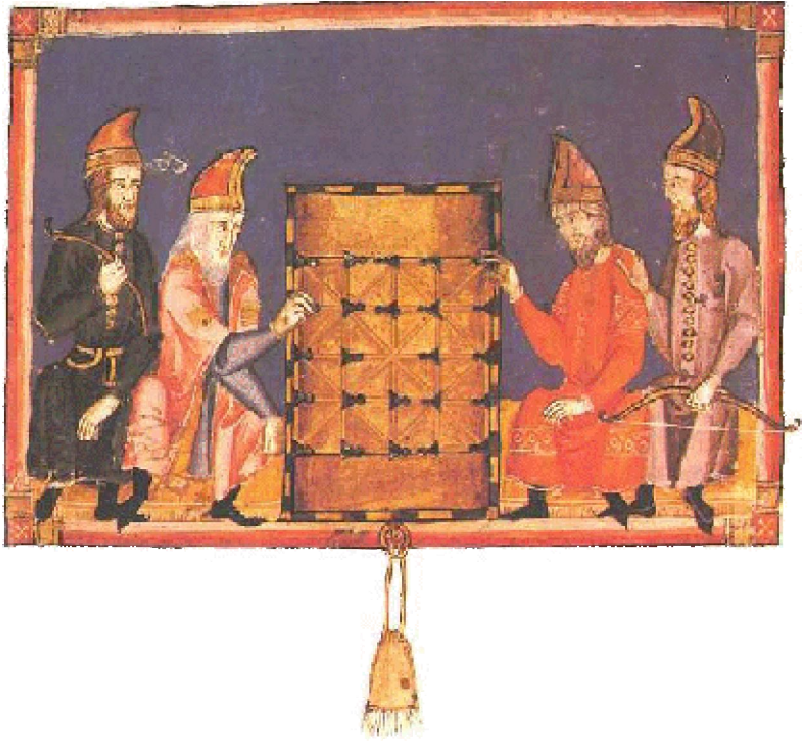
**JANER, Florencio** (1874). Libro de los Juegos de Ajedrez, Dados y Tablas, en "Museo Español de Antigüedades", pp. 225-255.

**TREND, J.B.** (1933). Alfonso el Sabio and the Game of Chess, *Revue Hispanique*. Nº 81, pp. 393-403.

**MEISSENBURG, Egbert** (1973). Zum Schach-und Spielbuch Alfons des Weisen vom Jahre 1283. In *Aus dem Antiquariat* 12, A512-A516.

**MEISSENBURG, Egbert** (1983). 700 Jahre Schach- und Spielbuch Alfons des Weisen. *Deutsche Schachblätter*, Nº 2, pp. 50-52.

<sup>426</sup> **ALFONSO X EL SABIO** (1283/1987). Libro del Ajedrez, Dados y Tablas.. Reprint Madrid, 1987.



### **The alquerque-12 game of King Alfonso X the Wise**

E finca un logar uazio en medio poro se cometa el iuego. E el que ha la mano, ha peoria, por que ha de iogar por fuerca en aquel logar uazio. Et pon ell otro iogador el su trebeio en aquel mismo logar ondel salio, e lieua aquel que mouio primero, passando sobre duna casa a otra enderecho, segunt ua la raya derecha dell alquerque, e sobre quantos trebeios assi passsare todos los leuara, e esso mismo fara ell otro iogador. Et toda uia el que ouo la mano, ha de mouer primero guisando como lieue algun trebeio de los dell otra parte.

Et ell otro iogador guardasse muy meior por y, ca entiendo el iuego quel quiere fazer, guarda el su trebeio por y meior, e faz le esso mismo que ell otro cueyda a el fazer, e por esta razon ha peoria el que ha la mano. Et el que peor guarda sus trebeios e los mas ayna pierde, es uençudo. Et si amos los iogadores lo sopieren iogar, comunalmente puede se mannar. Et esta es la figura dell alquerque e delos juegos e de como estan puestos en sus casas.

### **Loose translation:**

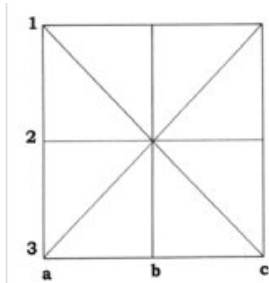
This is the Alquerque-12 played with all its chessmen (pieces):  
So we will have spoken in the books about the use of all manner of chess games and the dice and tables, as shown by those three wise men brought to the king and then taught the knowledgeable people to play, now we want to talk here about other games found after the men, who were not taken into account but somehow depend on them. We'll start with the Alquerque-12, because it is the greatest of all the other alquerques, and it is played with more pieces. And we will explain in what ways you play it and with how many pieces, and why it is somehow part of chess. This is because it is played with the head, and the pieces are similar to the chess pawns.

And they have their luck in the dice, since the dice that is thrown on the board decides who opens the game. And it must be played like this: There must be twenty-five holes (squares) where you can place the pieces, which have to be twenty. Then put twelve of one color on one side and the other twelve on the other side respectively grouped. An empty place in the middle where the game starts is left. The one that plays first has it worse, because he mandatorily has to play over that empty hole. And the other player puts his piece on the same hole that his opponent formerly was, then releases (the one) who moved first, moving from one square to the other one ahead, and jumping over all the pieces this way he will take all of them out (removing them from the board), and so will do the other player. And so on, the one in power must move first capturing whenever he can the other pieces.

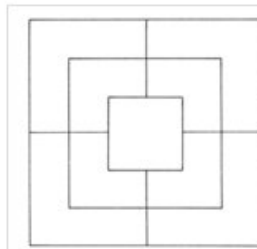
The other player must beware as much as possible, understanding the moves he wants to make, doing the best to keep his pawns, and do the same thing the other does to capture his pieces, and this is the reason why the first player has it worse. And the one that fails at saving his

pieces, and loses most of them, is defeated. And if the two players know how to play, they could engage. And this is the figure of alquerque and these kinds of games and how they are placed in their homes.

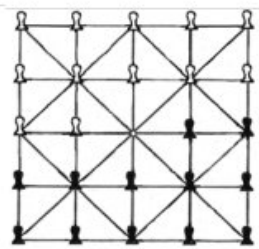
There is a translation in English by Sonja Mussel Golladay<sup>427</sup>.



**Alquerque-3**



**Alquerque-9**



**Alquerque-12**

### **The Alquerque-12 game was played this way:**

1. The tablet has 25 points of intersection.
2. Each player has 12 paws, 2 rows of 5 squares, and a third row with the right 2 squares.
3. In the center of the board there is a vacant intersection point.
4. The dice determine who opens the game.
5. Capturing is required both in orthogonal and diagonal

<sup>427</sup> **MUSSER GOLLADAY, Sonja** (2007). *Los libros de acedrex dados e tablas: historical, artistic and metaphysical dimensions of alfonso x's book of games*. A Dissertation Submitted to the Faculty of the DEPARTMENT OF SPANISH AND PORTUGUESE In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements For the Degree of DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY WITH A MAJOR IN SPANISH In the Graduate College THE UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA, pp. 623 and 624.



direction, forwards and back.

6. The pawn moves both orthogonally and diagonally, forwards and back.

Alquerque 12 was already an old game, but it is strange to observe that only King Alfonso X of Castile transmitted the rules of the game to us, because the *Bonus Socius* and the *Civis Bononiae Manuscripts* only contain collections of problems of the game<sup>428</sup>.

#### 9.5.4 1432 Juan Alfonso de Baena

*Juan Alfonso de Baena* (1406-1454) was a Spanish writer born in Baena. He belonged to a Jewish family, but later turned to the Catholic religion and the King John II of Castile named him his secretary. One of his most important works is the *Cancionero de Baena* which was published in 1499. He was friends with the Constable of Alvaro de Luna by then and other important members of the Court. These people spent their poems in the form of rogatory.

#### III apéndice: Desir que fiso Juan Alfonso de Baena<sup>429</sup>

(.....) p. 768 - Pues, señor, quien bien acata/los Infantes que padesçen,/ comoquier que se basteçen/fortuna los desbarata,/son corridos fasta Mata/de ser dentro en Alburquerque/este fuego de alquerque/malo es si no se amate.

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<sup>428</sup> MURRAY, Harold James Ruthven. (1952) *A History of Board Games Other Than Chess*, Oxford, p. 45

<sup>429</sup> BAENA, Juan Alfonso de (1432). *Cancionero de Juan Alfonso de Baena*, Edición y estudio de Brian Dutton y Joaquín González Cuenca, Visor Libros, Madrid, 1993, p. 768.

(anno 1432: resistencia de los Infantes *Don Pedro* y *Don Enrique* en Alburquerque.)



Book about Alvaro de Luna (Milan, 1546)

**Loose translation:**

**Appendix III:** Appendix III: narrative Juan Alonso de Baena  
made (Baena, 1432/1993:768)

Well, Sir, who respects good,  
Infants who suffer,  
like those who put a fortune wasting,  
be exiled to the village of Mata,  
being in Alburquerque,  
that fire of Alquerque,  
is bad if one does not extinguish it.

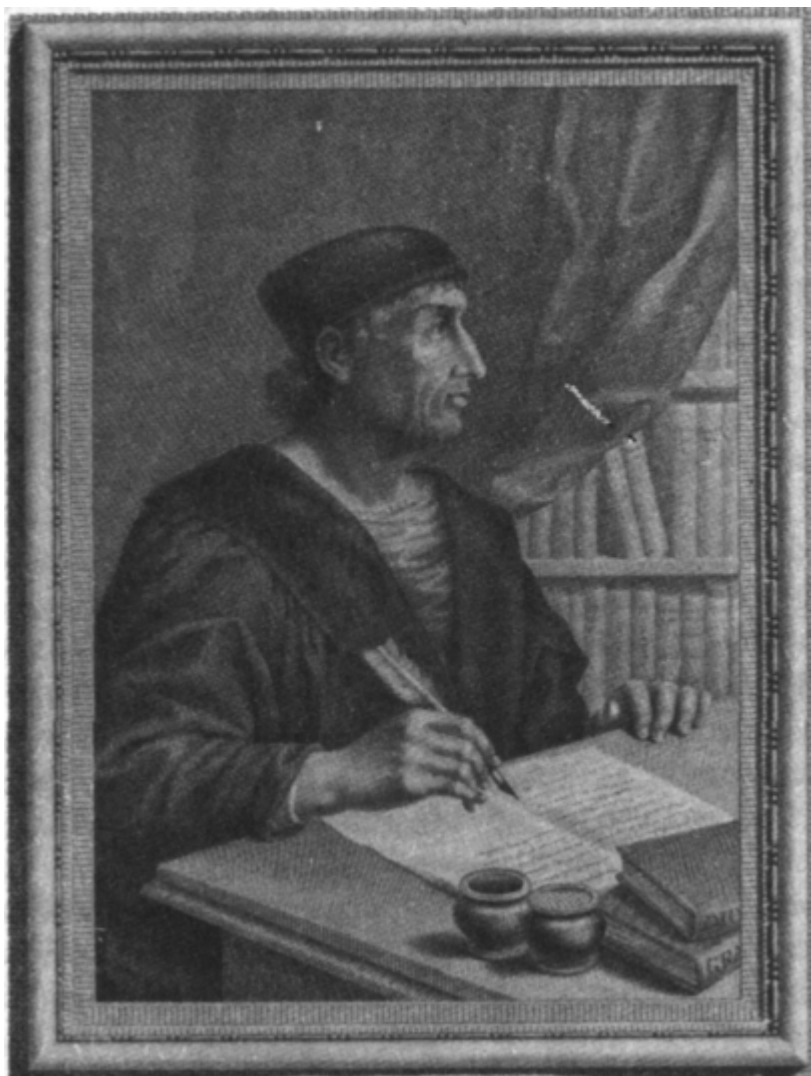
(Year 1432: opposition from the Infants Don Pedro and Don Enrique in Alburquerque).

### **9.5.5 1495 Antonio de Nebrija**

He was a Spanish performer born in 1444 in Nebrija and died in 1522. He spent many years in Italy studying the ancient Latin and Greek languages. After his return he became a professor of Latin in Salamanca and later in Alcala de Henares. He also mastered the Hebrew language and was one of the most prominent humanists in the 15th century. His knowledge of Latin could not be reached by anyone at the time. Nebrija had a broad knowledge in many sciences. He wrote many works.

Nebrija (1495) supports this word in his dictionary and made it famous as follows:

**Alquerque** = calculorum ludus



**Elio Antonio de Nebrija**

### 9.5.6 1517 Hernando Alonso de Herrera

Hernando Alonso de Herrera was a Spanish humanist who lived in the 15th and 16th centuries. Born around 1460 in Talavera de la Reina, he probably went to the University of Salamanca, where Nebrija was teaching. For some years he taught grammar and rhetoric at the University of Alcalá de Henares until he left in 1513. He also taught rhetoric in 1517 at the University of Salamanca. He continued living in this city until his death in 1528. Many works appeared in his hands<sup>430</sup>.

One of his works was: *Disputatio adversus Aristotelem aristotelicos-que sequaces*. This work was dedicated to Cardinal Ximenes and is bilingual. The Latin text is on even pages and the Castilian text on odd pages.

Adolfo Bonilla and San Martín dedicated deep and scholarly research to this writer<sup>431</sup>.

Act II: Diego de Herrera and Master Pedro. It is the place of different, and celaren apparatus. (Page 123)

#### ALQUERQUE

Herrariensis: Atque faciam, ut in ludo Latrunculorum calculorumve fieri solet, quando alter colusor preter opinionem suam se victum esse miratur: retractantur omnes tractus, quos uterque aleator peragraverat. Ita et nunc. Quandoquidem mihi stupere visus es, unde hoc rei acciderit, repetam tibi ex ordine superiorem seriem,...

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<sup>430</sup> **ENCICLOPEDIA UNIVERSAL ILUSTRADA** (1985) Volume 27, p. 1268.

<sup>431</sup> **BONILLA Y SAN MARTÍN, Adolfo** (1920). *Revue Hispanique* (Reprint 1964), N°. 50. Un antiaristotélico del Renacimiento. Hernando Alonso de Herrera y su Breve disputa de ocho levadas contra Aristótel y sus secuaces.

"Pues quiero hazer como en el juego del axedrez o **alquer**, <et in ludo latruncolorum calculorumque> que, quando la una parte se maravilla como le han vencido, buelvense a retratar todos los trechos que han pasado. Assi agora, que estays espantado como os he concludido, repitase por orden lo passado, porque, si de algo os arrepentis, os alçeyis dello, y lo que aveis confessado vaya por no dicho. Ca esta nuestra disputa no es contiendas, sino busqueda de la verdad..."

**Loose translation:**

"Well, I want to do this like in a game of chess or alquerque, when one player is shocked at how he has been defeated, all the previous games are replayed. So now that you are afraid of the way I have concluded, I insist, may the past be repeated in order, because if there is something you regret, you must get over it, and whatever you have confessed, pretend no words have been said. That is not our war, but our search for truth ... "

## **9.5.7 1528 Erasmus**

Desiderius Erasmus was a famous writer and linguist born in Rotterdam in 1467 and died in 1536 in Basel. Erasmus belonged to the group of famous humanists in Europe in the 15th century.

Chil. III, XXVIII ad Cent II. Civitates ludimus. Lusus quoddam genus is in quo ludebatur calculis olim, quos antiquitus poleis vocabant id est cities. Neoterici (.....), hoc est, (.....) appellare coeperunt regions.

Usurpavit adagium Oratinus in Fugitivis. Hic locus est Nimirum or fallor, quem Julius Pollux citat Rerum book Vocabulis nono: (...) ie civitatem Pandioniam regis, supra modum adulatricis Nosti quam dicimus, is civitatem Canem et quam ludunt. - Desiderius Erasmus



**Desiderius Erasmus**

Text in the true Adag. Chil. III Cent II ad XXVIII<sup>432</sup>:

Genus autem lus describit his verbis: qui vero complurium calculorum dicitur lus laterunculus est regiones in se continens, in lineis sitas. Et laterunculus quidam ipse civitas appellatur. Caeterum unusquisque calculus canis. Porro cum calculi sint duobus distincti

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<sup>432</sup> **ERASMUS, Desiderius** (1540). Collected works of Erasmus, Adages II vii 1 to III iii 100, translated and annotated by R.A.D. Mijns, Toronto/Fuffalo/London 1992. Based on opera omnia 1540. (Chil. III, Cent II ad XXVIII).

coloribus, lusus haec ars est, ut, comprehensis duobus calculis unicoloribus, eum, qui diversi coloris est, tollas è medio. Allusit ad hoc proverbium Plato lib. De Republica IV: Nam illarum unaquaeque plurimae sunt civitates, non civitas, quemadmodum dicere solent ludentes. Refert Zenodotus, quanquam idem adagii sensum non indicat. Quare cuique, quod vero proximum videatur, conjectandum relinquo. Mihi quadraturum videtur, quoties suum quisque commodum quacunque sectatur via et aemulo, competitorique modis omnibus tendit insidias. Qui lusus frequens est in aulis principum, et in magistratibus publicis. Ab hoc lusu manasse videtur, qui nunc vulgo scacarius dicitur.

#### **Loose translation:**

##### **We practice *the game of cities*.**

We played with cities. This is a kind of game that was played in ancient times with pieces that the ancients called poleis, and modern chôrai **places**. The adagium used *Cratinus* with its **refugees**. According to the passage that, if I'm not mistaken, Julius Pollux quoted in his 9<sup>th</sup> Book: *A city of an extraordinary praising King*; You know what we mean, dog and city, the game described as follows what the game is:

The game played with many pieces required a board with places (tables), which were on stripes. Game pieces are divided by color into two parts and the technique of the game is to capture a piece of a color between two pieces of another color and remove the board.

Plato refers to the saying in Book 4 of the Republic, each of which has a large number of towns and not a city, as people say when playing the game. The game



*Zenodotus* is mentioned, but does not indicate what adagium means, and therefore each is free to determine what approximates the truth most closely. I think it refers to a situation where everyone stands with all the means at its disposal its own interests and where it can get traps for your enemies and opponents. This type of game is widely practiced in the courts of kings and among people in government service. The game seems to be a forerunner of what is today called the game of chess.

### 9.5.8 1529 Antonio de Guevara

He was a Spanish prelate and writer born in Treceño (Asturias) in 1480? and died in Valladolid in 1545. His father took him to the court of the Catholic Monarchs when he was only 12 years old. Many years later he became Carlos V's preacher, counselor, and writer. As if this was not enough, he was also the inquisitor of Valencia, Bishop of Gaudix and Mondoñedo afterwards. Therefore this writer was a person of great reputation and had great benefits.

This author mentioned the following phrase in one of his books<sup>433</sup>:

Los viejos jugauan a los dados por la plaças, las mugeres jugauan al alquerque en las huertas.

#### **Loose translation:**

The old played dice in the squares, women played alquerque in the orchards.

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<sup>433</sup> **GUEVARA, Antonio de** (1529). Libro llamado Relox de príncipes en el qual va encorporado el muy famoso libro de Marco Aurelio, Valladolid.

### 9.5.9 1539 Antonio de Guevara

We find this author one more time. In another book about sea trips he states<sup>434</sup>:

Es privilegio de galera que alli todos tengan libertad de jugar a la primera de Alemania, a las tablas de Borgoña, al alquerque inglés, al tocadillo viejo, al parar ginovisco, al flux catalán, a la figurilla gallega, al triunfo francés, a la calabriada morisca, a la ganapierde romana, y al tres dos y as boloñés, y todos estos juegos se disimulan jugar con dados falsos y con naipes señalados.

#### Loose translation:

It is Galley's privilege to have everyone free to play *a la primera* of Germany, the Burgundy's *tablas*, the English alquerque, the old *tocadillo*, the *parar ginovisco*, the Catalan *flux*, the Galician *figurilla*, French *triunfo*, the Moorish *calabriada*, the Roman *win-lose*, and the *three two*, and the Bolognese *as*. All these games are played with false dice and marked cards.

The alquerque practiced here with dice was probably the known Nine Man Morrirs, which is originally the alquerque 9.

### 9.5.10 1553 Francisco Lopez de Gomara

Famous European historian born in Seville in 1510 and deceased in 1560. He studied humanities at the University of Al Creek Henares and was ordained priest. Around 1540 he was chaplain of the house and family of the famous conquistador

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<sup>434</sup> GUEVARA, Antonio de (1539) Menosprecio de la Corte y alabanza de la aldea; Aviso de privados y doctrina de cortesanos; De los inventores del arte del marear y de muchos trabajos aque se pasan en las galeras, Valladolid. Reprint, Catedra, Madrid, 1984.

Hernán Cortés. He wrote a book on the History of the Indies<sup>435</sup>, in which, with great knowledge, he described the conquest of Mexico. The work was published in 1552 in Zaragoza.

The word *alquerque* described in the Historical Dictionary of the Spanish Language shows<sup>436</sup>:

Conq. Mexico 42a: Algunas vezes miraua *Moteccuma* como jugavan al Patoliztlik que parece mucho al juego de las tablas. Y que se juega con havas, o frisoles (...). Los quales menean entre ambas manos. Y los echan sobre una estera. (...) donde hay ciertas rayas, como **alquerque**.



**Gamblers playing Patolli**

<sup>435</sup> **LÓPEZ DE GOMARA, Francisco** (1552). *Historia de las Indias*.

<sup>436</sup> **DICCIONARIO HISTÓRICO DE LA LENGUA ESPAÑOLA** (1933-1936). Madrid. (Madrid 1979).

### Loose translation:

Sometimes Motecucuma watched as they played patoliztlik that seems much like a tric-tac game; and that they play with beans or white beans (.....). They move them between the hands. They throw it on a mat (....) where certain lines are present, such as in the Alquerque game.

### 9.5.11 1558, Cristobal de Villalon

Cristobal de Villalon (1505-1558) was a Spanish writer born in Villalón or in Valbuena de Duero in the early sixteenth century. He studied at the University of Alcalá de Henares, where he learned Greek and theology, without ordaining himself as a priest. From 1530-1545 he worked probably for a time as a professor at the University of Valladolid, retiring in 1557 to a small town to write his last book *Spanish Grammar*. 1558 is usually indicated as the year of his death. We find in his book *The Scholástico*<sup>437</sup> what follows:

II, cap. 17: (...) De los inventores de los juegos. Pelota. Lucha. Naypes. Axedrez. Carnicoles. Los Dados. Alquerque. Xaldeta. Ingeniosos y apazibles para se recrear: porque segun Valerio dize, *Scevola* fue el primero que invento el juego de la pelota: y Hercules sobrellevo sus incomparables trabajos con el juego de la lucha y punaceste que el invento: y Palamedes estando sobre Troya por pasar el largo sitio invento los naipes: *Mangrolina* halle el axedrez, el qual fue tan diestro en el jugar que sin ver el tablero jugava paseandose por

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<sup>437</sup> VILLALON, Cristobal de (1558). El Scholastico, en el qual se forma una académica república o scholastico universidad, con las condiciones que deven tener el maestro y discípulo para ser varones dignos de la vivir. Hecho por el licenciado Christobal deVillalon. Dirigido al muy alto y muy poderoso príncipe don Phelipe, nuestro señor. Hijo del invictis - simo emperador Carlos Quinto desto nombre: nuestro rey y señor. Valladolid. Edition R.J.A. Kerr, Madrid 1967 (Clásicos hispánicos).

una sala con grandes jugadores. Los griegos inventaron el juego de los carnicoles: los mauros inventaron el juego de los dados: los hespañoles inventaron el juego del alquerque que llaman por otro nombre del castro: tambien los mismos inventaron la jaldeta.

**Loose translation:**

II, ch. 17: (...) From the inventors of the games. Ball. Fight. Naypes. Axedrez. Carnicoles. The dice. Alquerque. Xaldeta. Ingeniosos and apazibles to be rebuilt: because according to Valerio saith, Scevola was the first who invented the game of ball: Hercules and I bear his incomparable work with the fight game and punaceste the invention: and being on Troy by Palamedes spending long siege invention the cards: Mangrolina played chess so cleverly without even seeing the board, alone in a room with great players. The Greeks invented the game of carnicoles; Mauros invented the game of craps: the Spanish invented the Alquerque called by another name Castro; they also invented the Jaldeta.

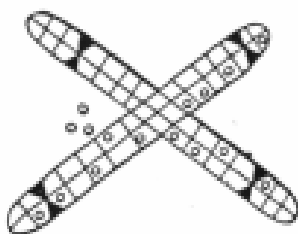
Castro was in Spain at that time the name for the mill. We know this thanks to the famous manuscript of King Alfonso X the Wise which named this game Alquerque 9. The description by Cristobal de Villalon is confusing, because it presents the game alquerque 9 (Castro) as if it were a Spanish invention. However, this game of mill was already a very old game. Also see Castro.

## **9.5.121560 Domingo de Santo Tomas**

Missionary, Dominican and Spanish writer, he was born in Seville in 1499 and died in Lima in 1571. Then he departed in 1529 with the conquistador Francisco Pizarro in the same boat and headed for Panama. He devoted himself to the study of Peru Inca language and became such expert that he came to be compared with the great Antonio de Nebrija. In his hand appeared Art Quechua language, extensive dictionary with

grammar on the indigenous Peruvian language. Many other books were written by him<sup>438</sup>. And so we have received the following about the game of alquerque<sup>439</sup>:

Alquerque	= comina, o taptana
acedrez	= taptana, o comina
trebejo de axedres	= taptana
taptana, o comina	= axedrez, tablas o alquerque



**Patolli**

### **9.5.131569 Bernardino de Sahagún**

Bernardino de Sahagún (c. 1503-1590) was a Spanish Franciscan, friar, and historian. He was born in Sahagún (León) in the early 16th century and died in Tlatelolco (Mexico) on February 5, 1590. He studied at the University of Salamanca and was sent to Mexico, along with 19 other religious officials, and since his arrival he devoted himself to the education of the Indians and the study of the Mexican language, which he mastered to perfection. He wrote several works. We know him

<sup>438</sup> **ENCICLOPEDIA UNIVERSAL ILUSTRADA** (1985) Volume 54, pp. 405-406.

<sup>439</sup> **SANTO TOMAS, F. Domingo de** (1560). *Lexicon Vocabulario de la Lengua General de Peru*. Valladolid. (Lima 1951).

for trilingual vocabulary in Latin, Spanish, and Aztec language and grammar<sup>440</sup>. Thanks to his descriptions of Aztec customs we know the following:

El segundo pasatiempo que tenia era un juego, como de dados; hacian en un petate una cruz pintada, toda llena de cuadros, semejante al juego del alquerque, o castro<sup>441</sup>, ... (Sahagún 1569/1969, libro 8, XVII,5, N° 3)



**The Patolli game**

**Loose translation:**

The second pastime they had was a game like dices; they made on a straw mat a painted cross, all full of squares, similar to the game of alquerque, or castro, ...

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<sup>440</sup> **ENCICLOPEDIA UNIVERSAL ILUSTRADA** (1985) Volume 52, p. 1275.

<sup>441</sup> **SAHAGUN, Fray Bernardino** (c. 1569). *Historia General de las Cosas de Nueva España*, manuscript, Edition Mexico 1969, Book 8, XVII, 5, N°. 3.

(..) jugaban un juego que se llama patolli, que es como el juego del castro o alquerque, o casi, o como el juego de los dados.

**Loose translation:**

(..) They played a game called patolli, which is like the castro or alquerque game, or similar, or like the game of dices.

### 9.5.14 1570 Diego Durán

Diego Duran (1538-1588) was a Dominican, religious historian and Hispanic-American. He was born in Mexico around 1538 and died in 1588. He was the son of a Spanish and an indigenous. He devoted himself to the study of the traditions and antiquities of his country, and wrote two works<sup>442</sup>.

Nº3: Los cuales juegos eran muchos y diversos, con diferentes instrumentos y maneras. Jugaban el juego del alquerque, o de las damas, imitando el juego que nosotros jugamos del adxedris, prendiendose las chinas el uno al otro, las cuales servian de piedras, las unas blancas, las otras negras<sup>443</sup>. (Durán c. 1570/1967, capítulo 22 p. 197 e.v.).

**Loose translation:**

No. 3: Games which were many and diverse, with different instruments and ways. They play the alquerque or checkers game, imitating the game that we play with the chess (board), taking the stones one from the other, which served as pieces. One part had white ones and the other part had black.

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<sup>442</sup> ENCICLOPEDIA UNIVERSAL ILUSTRADA (1985) Volume 18, p. 2562.

<sup>443</sup> DURAN, Fray Diego (c. 1570). Historia de las Indias de Nueva España e Islas de la Tierra Firme. Manuscript, I Libro de los Ritos, Edition Mexico 1967, chapter 22, p. 197 ss.





**The Franciscan Bernardino de Sahagún**

### 9.5.15 1578 Juan de Cordova

Juan de Cordova (1503-1595) was a Spanish philologist and writer. He was born in Cordoba in 1503 and died in Oajaca (Mexico) in 1595. After studying Latin he embraced the profession of arms, but in 1543 decided to enter the convent of San Domingo and was ordained priest in 1548. Linguist and priest who lived half his life in Mexico made a vocabulary of the indigenous language and we know<sup>444</sup>:

luego of axedrez or alquerque (Quela huetèlayaga ticàani huetèlaye)  
alquerque (yyehuetela)

#### **Loose translation:**

Chess or alquerque game (Quela huetèlayaga ticàani huetèlaye)  
alquerque (yyehuetela)

### 9.5.16 1580 Francisco Sanchez de las Brozas

Francisco Sánchez de las Brozas (1523-1600), known as Brocense, was a benedictine monk, Portuguese. He professed in Montserrat in 1577. He died there in 1604. He was versed in the Sacred Scriptures and in Hebrew, leaving at least a dozen documents, among them a Hebrew dictionary and the work *Commentarium in Ecclesiastem cum Concordia Vulgate Editionis et Hebraici textus*<sup>445</sup>.

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<sup>444</sup> **CORDOBA, Juan de** (1578). Vocabulario en lengua Capoteca, hecho y recopilado por el muy reverendo fray Iuan de Cordova, de la orden de los Predicadores, que reside en esta Nueva España. Mexico. Reprint in 1942

<sup>445</sup> **ENCICLOPEDIA UNIVERSAL ILUSTRADA** (1985) Volume 53, p. 1199

The importance of the ideas of el Brocense in the reform of classical studies in Spain is in the mid-16th century comparable to that of Antonio de Nebrija at the beginning of the century. He was very skilled in the Sacred Scripture and Hebrew and had a dozen works, which include a Hebrew dictionary. He wrote a work about the “Spanish etymologies”, which was never published<sup>446</sup>. For him the word “Alquerque” was of Arab origin.

Alquerque = Arabic querque

### 9.5.17 1593 Johann Thomas Treigino

Freigino was born in Freiburg in 1543 and died in Basilea in 1583. In 1567 he became Doctor in Philology and Law. He was also Professor in Basilea and Freiburg and in favor of the scientific theory of the Huguenots Ramus. Freigiuno was suspected of being associated with Protestantism.

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<sup>446</sup> **SÁNCHEZ DE LAS BROZAS, Francisco** (1580) *Etimologías españolas*, Manuscript, Spain.

**CARRASCO CANTOS, Pilar** (2006). *Análisis de Etimologías españolas* (1580) atribuida a Francisco Sánchez de las Brozas. In: *Actas del VI Congreso Internacional de Historia de la Lengua española*: Madrid, 29 de septiembre – 3 octubre 2003 / coordinated by José Luis Girón Alconchel, José Jesús de Bustos Tovar, volumen II, pp. 1309-1318

**PEREA SILLER, Francisco Javier** (2010) El Brocense, lexicógrafo: el cuaderno *Etimologías españolas*. In: *Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Historiografía Lingüística*, Number 7, pp. 129-154

Freigino<sup>447</sup> did annotations in *Lud. Vivis, Exertationes dial. VI* about the alquerque board. Jansen indicates the year 1593. A precise reference is missing, if there is one, it is to the year 1622.



**Francisco Sanchez de las Brozas**

<sup>447</sup> **FREIGIUS, T** (1662). *Colloquia, Sive Exercitatio Latina Linguae*, Joannis Ludovici Vivis Valentini: notis, ex T. Freigio et M. Martinio, Goudae.

### 9.5.18 1600 Fernandez Oviedo

From the text that hereafter follows, it can be deduced that alquerque and marro (de punta) were the same line games.

Figura semejante a este tablero. c. 1600 Libro Cám. Real de Fdz Oviedo (ms. T88, 1870) 147 147 nota: Otro se dize Nauarra, y trae (de armas) un marro o **alquerque** de cadenos de oro en campo de gole vel sanguino. (Var. mas. E 110: trae en el escudo el marro o **alquerque** de las cadenas de oro)<sup>448</sup>.

#### Loose translation:

Figure like this board. c. 1600 Libro Cám. Real de Fdz Oviedo (ms. T88, 1870) 147 147 note: Others speak about Nauarra, and bring (arms) a *marro* or alquerque of gold chain in *campo gole sanguino vel*. (Var more E 110: bears on his shield the *marro* or alquerque of gold chains)

### 9.5.19 1601 Francisco de Rosal

A Spanish doctor, multilingual, and writer from the sixteenth century, he was born in 1560 and died in Cordoba. Studied medicine in Salamanca and after obtaining the PhD he started his practice in Zamora, Aranda, Burgos, and other towns for 30 years. He retired to his home town. He spoke French, Portuguese, Italian, German, English, Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and Arabic. He wrote many works which were never published. One of them was Origin and etymology of all the original voices of the Castilian language<sup>449</sup>.

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<sup>448</sup> **DICCIONARIO HISTÓRICO DE LA LENGUA ESPAÑOLA** (1933-1936). Madrid. (Madrid 1979).

<sup>449</sup> **ENCICLOPEDIA UNIVERSAL ILUSTRADA** (1985) Volume 52, p. 339.

From him we know the following<sup>450</sup>:

### **Alquerque**

En arab. es juego, quizas corrupto de calculo lat. o calces, segun *Lucilio*, como nota festo. Franceses e italianos llaman **scalculo** y nos otros **escaque**, fingiendo un verbo **excalculari**, como en *Varron* **excuriari** y **excuncari** y descaminar que decimos en las rayas de los Reinos. Y asi dice *Scaligero* que los españoles fingimos el vocablo axedrez, como **exquadri**, perdida la silaba de enmedio, porque esquadrones y quadras son compañías de gente de guerra, y el juego de axedrez no es otra cosa que un real o exercito y campo formado.

### **Loose translation:**

In Arabic it is the name of a game, maybe the mutilated shape of the Latin calculo or calces, according to *Lucilio*, as nota festo. The French and Italians call it scalculo and we call it escaque, pretending a verb *excalculari*, like Varro *excuriari* and *excuncari* and misdirecting that we say in the lines (ways) of the kingdoms. So Scaligero says that the Spaniards think the word chess, as axedrez *exquadri*, by loss of the middle syllable because troops and quadres are companies of war figures, and nothing else than a king's army or army and formed camp.

## **9.5.20 1603 Francisco de Luque Faxardo**

This author also includes the word alquerque in his book of games and leaves to the women the choice of the name Damas instead of the alquerque game<sup>451</sup>.

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<sup>450</sup> **ROSAL, Francisco del** (1585). Origen y etymologia de todos los vocablos arábigos introducidos en la lengua castellana, Granada.

<sup>451</sup> **LUQUE FAJARDO, Francisco de** (1603). Fiel desengaño contra la ociosidad, y los juegos. Vtillísimo, a los confesores, y penitentes, justicias, y los demás, a cuyo cargo está limpiar de Vagabüdos, tahúres, y fulleros la República Christiana. En diálogo, Madrid.

Mujeres en juego de naipes muy fuera es de sus limites; grandemente exceden y passan la raya de sus debidos ejercicios. Mirad, por vuestra vida, que juego de muñecas, que juego de alfileres, de alquerque, de las damas, bien à propósito de las que estiman este nombre.

**Loose translation:**

Women playing cards out of their limits; they widely exceed their limitations and cross the line of their obligated excercises. Look at your life, keep you busy with puppetry, the pins game, the alquerque game, checkers, on purpose of them who prefer this name. (thus the name of damas).

## 9.5.21 1608 Julius Pollux

Greek grammarian and sophist, he was born in Naucratis (Egypt) in 135 and died in Athens in 188. Most of his work is lost. His work *Onomasticon* was published in Venice for the first time. The better edition is the Wetstein's printed in Amsterdam<sup>452</sup>.

Seg. 100.4:

eundum cum ludo calculorum putant duodecim scruporum lusum qui Quintilliano dicatur<sup>453</sup> (Pollux 1608; Pollucis 1706)

**Germanis**, der zwölfte Stein. Gallis, le jeu aux Dames.

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<sup>452</sup> **POLLUX, Julius** (PÓLUX) (1608). Julli Pollucis Onomasticon decem libris constans <...> adjecta interpretatio latina Rodolphi Gualtheri <...> studio at que opera Wolfgangi Seberi <...>, Francofurti <...>, 2 partes en 1 vol.

**POLLUCIS, Julii** (1706). Onomasticum Graece et Latine, Amsterdam. Edition Hemsterhuis.

<sup>453</sup> **POLLUX, Julius** (PÓLUX) (1608). Julli Pollucis Onomasticon decem libris constans <...> adjecta interpretatio latina Rodolphi Gualtheri <...> studio at que opera Wolfgangi Seberi <...>, Francofurti <...>, 2 partes en 1 vol.

### 9.5.22 1608 Diego Gonzalez Holguin

Diego González Holguin (1552 – 1620) was a Spanish missionary and linguist who was born in Cáceres in 1552 and died around 1620 in Lima, Peru. He was a Spanish Jesuit priest, researcher of the Quechua language during the times of the Viceroyalty of Peru. In 1581 he was sent to Peru and studied the Quechua language for 25 years in the city of Cusco. By 1607 he published in Lima<sup>454</sup> his *Grammar and Arts of the General Language of Peru*, a year later the *Vocabulary of the General Language of the Entire Peru*, the first dictionary of the Quechua of Cusco. Thus we see in one of his works<sup>455</sup>:

iugar all Alquerque (playing Alquerque)	= ttaptani Cuni
iuego the Alquerque (the Alquerque game)	= ttaptana
axedrez (chess)	= castilla taptana
Tablero the axedrez (chess board)	= castillo taptana

### 9.5.23 1611 Sebastian de Covarrubias y Orozco

A Spanish grammarian and priest. He was a famous Canonist and expert in ancient age. He also taught Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. He wrote several works, among them *Treasure of the Castilian or Spanish Language*. This was an etymological

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<sup>454</sup> **GONZÁLEZ HOLGUIN, Diego** (1607) *Grammar of the Classical Inca Quechua of the colonial times*, Lima

<sup>455</sup> **GONZALEZ HOLGUIN, Diego** (1608) *Vocabulario de la lengua general de todo el Peru, llamado lengua qquichua o del inca El Quechua Cortesano del Cuzco. Ciudad de los Reyes*. (Lima 1989)



dictionary of the Spanish language that despite certain naivety and lack of precision is still an indispensable work<sup>456</sup>.

(Covarrubias, 1611):

Alquerque es un juego de piedrecillas, sobre un tablero rayado que haze diversos quadros, y por las rayas van moviéndose, y quando hallan tercera casa vacía del contrario, pasan a ella, ganándole la piedra que estava en medio; que algunas vezes acaece ser dos y tres, y si pudiendo tomar, no lo haze, pierde la suya, y por termino propio se la soplan. En griego se llama este juego schyraphia.

**Loose translation:**

Alquerque is a game of little stones over a stripped board, making different squares and for the stripe the player goes moving and when they find the contender's third house empty, go there, winning the stone which was placed in the middle and which sometimes can be two or three. If being able to take it he refuses to do it, he will lose his own by blowing. This game is called schyraphia in Greek.

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<sup>456</sup> **COVARRUBIAS, Sebastián de** (1611). Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española. Madrid, 1611. Edición de Martín de Riquer de la Real Academia Española, Editorial Alta Fulla, Barcelona, 1987.



**Sebastian de Covarrubias y Orozco**

#### **9.5.24 1612 Ludovico Bertonio**

Ludovico Bertonio (1552-1625) was an Italian Jesuit, named the insurmountable Aymara, and the most notable linguist of the colonial era. In 1574 he joined the Jesuits and four years later he was assigned to the Viceroyalty of Peru, arriving at Lima in 1581. He studied Humanities at the Colegio Maximo de San Pablo of Lima, becoming Professor of the Higher Grammar Class. In 1585 he was destined to the village Juli for the evangelization of the Lupaqa Indians, by which he was forced to learn the Aymara language. On November 1, 1593 he celebrated his definitive incorporation to the Society of Jesus in

the main church of Juli in the intermediate grade of "teachers of three votes". He lived more than 30 years in Chucuyto, near Lake Titicaca. Between 1600 and 1602 he was Minister of the College of Potosí being "Indian workers", allowing him to confront the Lupaqa of Aymara with other variants in the different regions of Qullasuyu<sup>457</sup>.

This Italian let us know the following (Bertonio 1612/1984):

Alquerque = cumisina, y lo mismo significa axedrez, porque los indios no distinguen los juegos, sino miran al modo.

Alquerque jugar; o al axedrez; cumisina. por ser juego semejante al nuestro.

Tablero de axedrez, molinillo, alquerque etc. Cumisiña tabla.

**Loose translation:**

Alquerque means cumisina, and the same means chess, because the Indians do not distinguish the games, but the way they look.

Playing alquerque; or chess; cumisina, because it is similar to our game.

Chess boards, marro, alquerque etc. Cumisina, tric-tac.

Bertonio probably hispanicized the term *molinillo* in his mother tongue, where the used term was *mulinello*<sup>458</sup>.

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<sup>457</sup> **BERTONIO, Ludovico** (1612) Vocabulario de la lengua Aymara. (1984 Cochabamba-Peru)

<sup>458</sup> **FISKE, Willard** (1905). Chess in Iceland and in Icelandic literature with historical notes on other table-games, Florence, pp. 106-110.

### 9.5.25 1615 Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala

Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, also known as Guamán Poma or Huamán Poma, was an indigenous Peruvian who became disillusioned with the treatment of the native peoples of the Andes by the Spanish after conquest. Today Guaman Poma is noted for his illustrated chronicle *Nueva Corónica y Buen Gobierno* (*The New Chronicle and Good Government*), a 1,189-page document. He mistakenly wrote *Corónica* instead of *Crónica*. His book remains the longest sustained critique of the Spanish colonial rule produced by an indigenous subject in the entire colonial period. Written between 1600 and 1615 and addressed to King Philip III of Spain the *Corónica* outlines the injustices of colonial rule and argues that the Spanish were foreign settlers in Peru. "It is our country," he said, "because God has given it to us". The king never received the document. This manuscript includes the events that took place in Peru between Francisco Pizarro and his prisoner, the Inca Atahualpa<sup>459</sup>.

(....) De cómo estando preso conversava Atahualpa Ynga con don Francisco Pizarro y don Diego de Almagro y con los demás españoles y jugava con ellos en el juego de axedrés que ellos les llaman taptana. (Guaman Poma de Ayala, 1615/1987).

#### Loose translation:

Being prisoner, Atahualpa talked with Don Francisco Pizarro and Don Diego de Almagro and with the other Spanish men. He also played chess, which they called taptana.

There is a reference here to the alquerque game, which due to being played with chess pieces was mixed up with chess - even in the name. In the attached drawing it can be seen very clearly

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<sup>459</sup> GUAMAN POMA DE AYALA, Felipe (1615) *Nueva Crónica y Buen Gobierno*. Manuscript (Mexico 1987)

that it is an alquerque board. On the right, instead of a 9 piece-board the emblem or Inca weapon appears. On the left underneath the black and white little stones used in alquerque can be seen.



**The prisoner Atahualpa**

### 9.5.26 1617 Pietro Carrera

Pietro Carrera (1578-1647) was a Sicilian Archpriest, theorist, and chess player. In 1617 he published a treatise about chess, which was an excellent source for knowing more about chess and the players in his time. His work manages in an exquisite way some of the probable ancient Roman game boards and its authors ancient and current, and also describes some games that are similar to the checkers game. The following text from his book refers to checker and similar games<sup>460</sup>.



**Pietro Carrera**

Insorge un'altra opposizione tenuta da Celio Calcagnino uno de'maggiore *lettera de'* suoi tēpi nel discorso, ch'egli fa del gioco, et e questa, che il gioco de gli Scacchi non sia stato conosciuto da gli antichi, la quale opinione seguono huomini dottissimi, allegando che

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<sup>460</sup> **CARRERA, Pietro** (1617). Il Gioco de gli Scacchi, millitello (Sicilia), pp. 33-35.

quelle memorie di Scacchi, che si ritrovano in Martiale, in Seneca, et in altri s'intendono per gli Scacchi della Riga, e non per gli scacchi del nostro gioco del quale ragioniamo, i che non esser vero proveremo co diverse, e fondate ragioni, et anco con autorita di huomini gravi scusisi il Calcagnino, perche gli mancava la intiera notitia del gioco, senza laquale non potea osservare, et esaminare à pieno le proprietati di esso, lequali si leggono sparse per li scrittori. Prima fia necessario di spiegare la cognitione de' *giochi della Riga* affinche il tutto rimanga dilucidato.

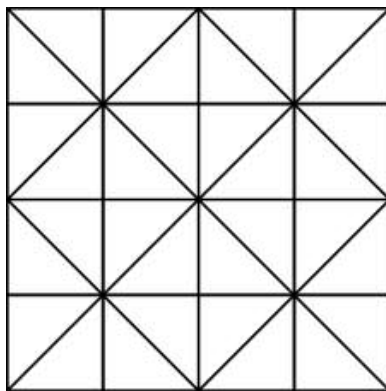
La Riga appresso gli antichi era di trè maniere, uno come afferma Celio Rodigino nel lib. 20 nel cap. 27 delle antiche lettioni p autorita di Eustatio, conteneva sessante Scacchi parte bianchi, e parte neri, et questa era chimata Grammismus, Digrammismus e Gramma. che son l'instesso, che linea, ancorchè Gramma, significasse ogni Riga; cio conferma Giulio Polluce nel Dittionario cosi ragionádo. "Si accosta di presso aqsto gioco"; (Perciochè avanti haveva ragionato di gli Scacchi) Il Gramismo, e'l Digramissare, ilqual gioco è domandato da alcuni le linee. Questa Riga à nostri di è ignota, et estinta;

Mi maraviglio, che non sia stata conosciuta dal Calcagnino, ilquale ragione diffusamente della seconda, ch'è quella, laqual si giocava, et hoggidi ancora si gioca cõ dodici pietre bianche, et altrettante nere. Cicerone in Hortensio "Itaque tibi concedo, quod in duodecim scrupis olim, ut calculum reducas, si te alicuius dati poeniteat." Quintiliano nel lib. 10 nel cap. 2: "An vero Scevola in lusu duodecim scruporum cù prior calculum promovisset". Si divide questa Riga, como mostra la seguite figura in cinque linee ritagliate perdritto, et altrettante per fianco con due altre linee, che la fiedono p traverso terminan dosi negli angoli, si veggono in essa ancora quatro quadri della Riga, e sciascuna di esse abbraccia trè case, ma ciascuna delle linee maggiori cosi rette, como oblique ne ha cinque, et in queste seggono le pietre del gioco, eccetto la linea di mezzo, che ha quatro luoghi ripieni di pietre, perchè la casa, ch'è nel mezzo di essa, riman vota. Questa linea di mezo da gli anticha era detta Sacra, perciochè no era lecito senza gran necessita di muovere le pietre di qualla, onde nacque il Proverbio "Muovere alique à Sacra", il quale significa constringere alcuno adatto di estrema necessita. Theocrito nel 6. Idillio "E da linea rimuove la pietra". Le pietre, le quali arrivano all'ultima linea secondo Isidoro, como riferisce Giosepe Scaligero sopra il 6. lib. Di Varrone, si chiamavano Inciti

(Intorno à cio mi par necessario di avvertire, che questa Riga è diverso di quel gioco, che i Siciliani chimano Marrella, e gli Spagnuoli el juego de las Damas, benche habbiano alcune cose comuni ad ambidue i giochi; delquale no veggo, che ne faccia mentione scrittore alcuno).

### **Loose translation:**

Another opposition, from Celio Calcagninus, one of the great wise men of his time, in his treatise says that chess was not known by the ancients. This opinion is supported by the great genius and the argument about the reference to chess found by Martialis, Seneca, and others, has to do with the game of chess over a Riga board and not with the current chess game. We cannot determine with conclusive proof if that is true, nor use the authority of a serious man like Calcagninus, because he lacks knowledge about the game and without it the observation and detailed examination of the game's features cannot be done. We found little about it in this writer's work. Firstly, it is necessary to discover what is known about the Riga game and in this way clarify it all.



**Alquerque board shown by Carrera**

The Riga game, as we have been taught by the ancient, was played in 3 ways: The first, Celius Rodiginus confirms in the 20th book, chapter 27 of the treatment of ancient age, quoting the authority of Eustatius, was played with 60 pieces, one part white and another part



black. The name of the game was Grammismus, Digrammismus, and Gramma. Gramma always means Riga (line). This is also confirmed by Julius Pollux in his *Onomasticon*. It is similar to this game (we already have figured that this game before (Grammismus and Digrammismus were similar stripped games. These versions of Riga are not known today, they are extinguished).

I was startled about the fact that with Calcagninus we don't know more about the second game, which he barely mentioned and which is still today played with 12 little black and 12 little white stones. Cicero talks about it in *Hortensio* **Itaque tibi concedo, quod in duodecim scrupis olim, ut calculum reducas, si te alicuius dati poeniteat.** I allow you, as we usually do in the 12 little stone games, to retire the play (piece) if you regret to move it. Quintilian in the 10th book, chapter 2: **An Vero Scevola in lusu duodecim scruporum cū prior calculum promovisset.** (We have said that Scaevola, in which the move could be done after a 12 little stones game) This Riga game, it's shown in the next drawing divided by 5 lines: 5 vertical, 5 horizontal, and 2 diagonal lines from angle to angle. This way 4 frames for the mini Riga game were formed. They allow about three little stones in the lines. But in each one of the big straight lines and the diagonal lines 5 little stones are allowed, with the exception of the middle line where 4 little stones are placed, because the center square must be empty. This middle line was the "Sacra Line" for the ancient and it was not allowed, except as a last resource, take from here the little stones. So the proverb: *Movere alique à Sacra* "Only for extreme necessity this action must be done" had originated. Theocritus in the *Idylle* six: To change the piece of line. The piece which arrives to the last line, Isidorus said, quoted by Scaliger in his Varro work, was named "inciti" (immobile).

Considering all this it is necessary to say that this Riga game is different from the game which the Sicilians call *Marrella* and the Spanish call *Checkers*, despite the two games having some features in common and of it I didn't see that any writer were quoted.

Brunet<sup>461</sup> makes the following observation: *If the game that the Sicilians named Marrella coincides with our Checkers game, the Sicilian name could demonstrate that this is derived from the predecessor of the Riga 12, equal to our Marro. This word actually could be a diminutive of the Sicilian Marrella.*

### 9.5.27 1627 Matthew Rader

This Austrian Jesuit and philosopher was born in 1561 in Innichen (Tirol) and died in 1634 in Munich. His more famous work is the noted edition of *The Epigrams of Martialis* (1599 and followers). Raderus<sup>462</sup> mentions Calagninus:

Mandris: regionibus, seu urbibus expono cum Calagnino lib. de ludo talorum, tesserarum, et calculorum alio qui bis idem diceret, si mandras pro latronibus accipias, alia notione supra lib. 5 epig. 27 hanc vocem usurpavit, ubi mandram claustrum, seu septum ovium, boum, mularum, aut ipsas mulas diximus. Hinc credo sumpta metaphora, ut calculorum, seu latronum sedes (Graeci nominant mandras) hic appellarit quas regiones Pollux et Eustathius vocant et urbes.

Latrone: calculi latrones ab insidiando decebantur, et canes: Graece ... Latinus primum calculi, seu scrupi, deinde latrones, et canes. Erant in abaco, quem ... Graeci vocant, ceu tu laterculum dicas, regiones lineis distinctae: has urbes nuncupabant, unde in proverbium abiit..., cum res parvas magnis nominibus afficimus, et ollas exornamus. Erant hae regiones plerumque quinque, lineolis, transversariisque, et decussationibus alternatim dimensae, quinque, et viginti numero, singulis latrones quinque insistebant, praeter mediam, qui tantum quatuor tribuebantur.

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<sup>461</sup> **BRUNET Y BELLET, José** (1891). *El Ajedrez, Investigaciones sobre su origen*, Barcelona, p. 205.

<sup>462</sup> **RADERI, M** (1627). *Ad M. Valerii Martialis Epigrammaton, Libros omnes*, Keulen . *Ad Paulem*, LX, pp. 527-528.

distincti hostili animo insidiantes. Ea fuit ludi ratio, ut si unus ex hostili agmine incommitatus deprehenderetur, ita ut circumveniri posset, captivus ex acie traheretur. Ab eo linearum numero Sophocles ..., id est, pessa quinque lineis distincta vocitasse fertur. Ex quibus quae media fuit, sacra dicebatur, a qua movere calculum religio fuit, ni magna, et inevitabilis quaedam urgeret necessitas. Hinc proverbiam oriumdum est ...,hunc moveo a sacra, cum extra praesidia implorantur. Et plura his Calcagninus quae ibidem leges. Martialis lib. 14 ep. 17. "Calculus hinc gemino discolor hoste perit (et epig. 20) Insidiosorum si ludus bella latronum, Gemmeus (vitreus) iste tibi miles, et hostis erit". In calculorum ludo sunt lineae tantum quinque, et sedecim regiones, seu orbes, seu quadra. In Scaporum vero novem lineae, et regiones 64.

### Loose translation:

**Mandra (Martialis Book 5, epigram 27):** I agree with Calcagninus when he says in his book about the board games and dice that that word is used twice in the thieves' game, otherwise meaning a **fenced territory** (block) for sheep, bovine, and donkeys. I think that the metaphorical meaning of the word is 'places where the game pieces or thieves are settled' (mandris in Greek) which Pollux names as regions and Eustathius as metropolis (cities). **Latro:** mercenary soldier, thief. The pieces (calculi) are traitors and thieves. In Latin they were called **canes** (dogs). They are in what the Romans call **abacus** and we a game board, which is divided by lines in squares: the proverb says about the cities that with small feats the great men become weak and the pantries are provided. The places to play (intersection points) were made by drawing 5 horizontal and vertical lines which resulted in 25 intersection points. It was the reason why 5 thieves always met in a line, with the exception of the middle line where only 4 thieves were allowed.

Justifying either part, thieves or dogs, distinguished by color, it must be said that treason and passion were born from the spirit of this game. If one went towards an enemy without a companion, he was encircled and taken as prisoner on the battlefield. Sophocles says that soldiers usually march five in a line. About what was mentioned in reference to the middle line, which was called sacra, a piece from there could only be taken as a last resort. This way the proverb 'call additional protection' was born. Calcagninus quotes Martialis (Book

14, epigram 17): A piece between two pieces of another color is considered lost. And in Epigram 20: If you play the thieves' game, glass pieces will be your soldiers and your enemies. In the group of pieces there are only five lines and 16 sections or squares. However, in the game of chess there are nine lines and 64 sections.

### 9.5.28 1645 Hugo Grotius

In 1603, 20 years old Hugo Grotius wrote 9 epigrams in Latin about the games<sup>463</sup>. He wrote the following about checkers or the alquerque game:

Ludus duodenorum scruporum. Jeu de dames. - alquerque?  
Scrupea bella vides, Danaumque & Memnonis arma: Vicisse est,  
hostes transiliisse suos<sup>464</sup>.

#### Loose Translation

Game of 12 pieces. One can see wars and pieces, Greek weapons, and the Memnon's weapons. Victory is accomplished by jumping over the enemies.

### 9.5.29 1667 Andreas Senftlebius

This German lawyer was born in 1603 and died in 1642. Among other works he wrote the book *Librum de Alea Veterum* which was edited in 1677 in Leipzig:

IV Lineae: Hae ita erant formatae, ut varios et triangulos et quadrangulos repraesentarent: De triangulis ita loquitur Freigius in

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<sup>463</sup> BAKKER, Gerard (1992). Draughts Magazine *Het Nieuwe Damspel*, Utrecht, p. 15.

<sup>464</sup> GROOT, Hugo de (1645). *Poemata Omnia*, Lib. II. Leiden, p. 305.

notis ad Lud. Vivis Exercitationes dial. VI: Regiones variis lineis et triangulis quadrati in sedecim quadrata ex latere quadrisecto divisi: Cui inscribantur duae diagonii et quadratum dimidium circumscripti. Raderus autem ad ep. Mart. ita explicat: Erant in abaco regiones lineis distinctae, has urbes nuncupabant, unde et in Proverbium abiit: ... cum res parvas magnis nominibus afficimus, et ollas exornamus. Erant hae regiones plerumque quinque lineolis transversariisque et decussationibus alternatim dimensae, quinque et viginti numero, singulis latrones quinque insistebant, praeter mediam, cui tantum quatuor tribuebantur<sup>465</sup>. (Senftleben 1667:172-190; Gronovius, 1699) Freigius tale ponit Schema:

#### **Loose translation:**

**IV. Lines:** The form can be described as several triangles and squares. About the triangular form Freigius says in his notes **Lud. Vives Exercitationes dial VI:** The regions are divided by lines in triangles and 16 squares and from the sides in 4 sections: engraving in them 2 diagonals, originating squares by half. Raderus, the author of *Martialis Epigrams*, explains:

In the board game there are regions divided by lines which are reserved for the cities which give origin to the proverb: with small feats the great men become weak and the pantries are provided. These regions are formed by 5 horizontal and vertical lines which alternate with lines drawn in crosses and count 25 in total. In the first line there were thieves, but in the middle line only 4 obtained a place. Freigius draws a board of *Alquerque*-12 here.

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<sup>465</sup> **SENFTLEBEN, Andreas** (1667). *De alea veterum opusculum posthumum*, Leipzig, pp. 172-190.

**GRONOVIVS, Jacobus** (1699). *Thesaurus Graecarum Antiquitatem*, vol. 7, Lugduni Batavorum, pp. 901-1232.

The following books are to be found in this work : Meurs 1619-22, Daniel Souter 1622, Jules Cesar Boulenger 1627, and Andreras Senftleben 1667.

### 9.5.30 1695 Thomas Hyde

Thomas Hyde (1636-1703) was an English orientalist and Hebrew professor at Queen's College Oxford in 1658. He studied Arabic, Persian, Syriac, and Chinese. He wrote several books. In the first of 2 volumes of one of his works in Latin, *Ludis Orientalibus*, he researches the origin of chess. Hyde concluded that the game was invented in India<sup>466</sup>. In his book Hyde describes the checkers game too. He takes much information from Covarrubias, whom we have quoted before. Hyde<sup>467</sup> thought that the word **dame** was derived from the German word **dam**, but he could not support his statement with any proof.

#### Thomas Hyde

Hispani quatuor hujus Ludi Nomina habent: quorum unum est **Las Damas**, superius dictum. Alterum est **Alquerque**. Tertium est **Castro**: quartum **Real**.

#### Loose translation:

The Spanish have four names for this game today. The first is **Las Damas**, previously described. The second is **Alquerque**. The third is **Castro**. The fourth is **Real**.

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<sup>466</sup> ENCICLOPEDIA UNIVERSAL ILUSTRADA, EUROPEA-AMERICANA (1908-1930) 70 Volumes, thereafter in 1930-1996 about 40 supplements). Espasa-Calpe, Madrid, Volume 28, p. 784.

<sup>467</sup> HYDE, Thomas (1694b). De Ludis Orientalibus, Oxford. Volume II.



**Thomas Hyde**

### **9.5.31 1706 Julius Pollux**

In this edition of his book a description - sometimes in a drawing - of the alquerque board can be found. There are several notes from Calcagninus, Freigius, Erasmus, Raderus (Rader), and Senftlebius. They indicate the Soldiers' Game,

Cities' Game (polis), and Game of Pieces as the names of the game. They think that alquerque is similar to the games that the Romans and Greeks played in ancient times. Unfortunately they actually did not mention the rules of the game. Calcagninus's description is undoubtedly the most interesting of all<sup>468</sup>.

### 9.5.32 1734 Francesco de Ficoroni

Many years later, in 1734, the Italian Francesco de Ficoroni (1664-1747) gives us more information about Caelius Calcagninus and his Alquerque-12 game. Ficoroni, born in 1664 at Lugano and deceased in 1747, was an Italian connoisseur and antiquarian in Rome closely involved with the antiquities trade. He was the author of numerous publications on ancient Roman sculpture and antiquities, guides to the monuments of Rome and the city's ancient topography, and on Italian theatre and theatrical masks among other subjects. For his antiquarian works he was made a Fellow of the Royal Society of London. The following text is an abbreviated Italian translation of the Calcagninus text (before 1541) and an addition to the descriptions of Alquerque-12<sup>469</sup>.

p. 23/24:

Discorda dalla mentovate opinioni Celio Calcagnini, quale nella descrizione minuta, se bene a mio credere non totalmente chiara, che fa di tal giuoco, assegna ad esso dodici calcoli per parte divisi in due decine, de in quattro Caporali, due per parte: e perchè al parer di Vegezio il manipolo era composto di dieci soldati abitanti sotto la stessa tenda; perciò chiama questi calcoli soldati manipolari. Divide poi ciascheduna decuria in due parti, collocando in due file cinque

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<sup>468</sup> **POLLUCIS, Julii** (1706). *Onomasticum Graece et Latine*, Amsterdam. Edition Hemsterhuis.

<sup>469</sup> **FICORONI, Francesco de** (1734) 1 tali ed altri strumenti lusori degli antichi Romani, Roma, pp. 23-24.



soldati per ciascheduna, e postando nella fila di mezzo y due Caporali alla custodia delle loro piccole compagnie. Che se alcun soldato si fosse partito dal suo posto, avea per pena l'esser sorpeso dall' inimico, e perire; il che essendo facile a seguire, se si fossero lasciati aperti if fianchi della squadriglie; perciò v'era legge, che niuno uscisse dalla linea, che dicevasi sacra, de era quella di mezzo, a cui presedevano y due Caporali. Con ciò viene egli ad avere ciascheduno degli eserciti composto di tre ordini, quanti erano quelle della milizia Romana, che dentro vi riconosce, como in ritratto.

### **Loose translation:**

Celio Calcagninus didn't agree with the given opinions, which are precise in the description, and although they are good, I think that they do not clearly reflect how the game was played. 12 pieces were settled on each side of the board; two tens and four corporals, 2 from each side because according to Vegezio the **manipolo** was formed by ten of the same soldiers (in a tent). That is why those pieces are called manipel soldiers. Every ten are divided into two groups and 5 soldiers are placed in 2 rows and in the middle line 2 corporals are settled to protect their little company. At the moment when one soldier leaves his place his enemy captures and kills him. And such thing is not easy to accomplish if the crew flanks are open. That is why there was a law which said that no one could allow this line (which the two corporals protected) vulnerable. This way an army of 3 rows is obtained, as in the Roman Army which intimately recognized itself, like in a painting.

## 9.6 The Alquerque motto in dictionaries

### TESORO LEXICOGRÁFICO (LEXICOGRAPHY TREASURE) 1492-1726, S.G. GAYA<sup>470</sup> (1947)

#### Alquerque

Nebrija (1495):	Calculorum ludus <sup>471</sup>
Brocense (1580):	Arab. querque <sup>472</sup>
Tamarid (1585):	es juego <sup>473</sup>
Percival (1599):	a kind of game or game somewhat differing from table game <sup>474</sup>
Rosal (1601):	en arab. es juego <sup>475</sup> (Rosal, 1585)
Palet (1604):	damier à iouer <sup>476</sup>
Oudin (1607):	jeu des eschets ou de dames, c'est aussi un ieu qui se fait avec des gettons <sup>477</sup> .

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<sup>470</sup> GAYA, Samuel Gil (1947). el Tesoro Lexicográfico 1492-1726, tomo 1 A-E.

<sup>471</sup> NEBRIJA, Antonio de (1495) Dictionarium hispano-latinum, Salamanca. (reprint in 1951 by the Real Academia Española. Diccionario Romance (Spanish) to latin. We know editions of this book of the years: 1492 Salamanca, 1494? Evora; 1503 Sevilla; 1506 Paris and 1513 in Madrid.

<sup>472</sup> SÁNCHEZ DE LAS BROZAS, Francisco (1580). Etimologías españolas, Manuscript.

<sup>473</sup> LÓPEZ TAMARID, F. (1585). compendio de algunos vocablos arábigos introducidos en la lengua castellana, Granada.. (Reproducido por Mayans en sus Orígenes, ed. 1737, II 235 ss.; es el más antiguo diccionario de arabismos).

<sup>474</sup> PERCIVAL, Richard (1599). A Dictionary in Spanish and English, Londres.

<sup>475</sup> ROSAL, Francisco del (1585). Origen y etymologia de todos los vocablos arábigos introducidos en la lengua castellana, Granada.

<sup>476</sup> PALET, Joan (1604). Diccionario muy copioso de la lengua española y francesa, Paris.

<sup>477</sup> OUDIN, César (1607). Tesoro de las dos lenguas francesa y española.

Covarrubias (1611): (see the earlier description in this book)<sup>478</sup>  
 Francios (1620): juego del filetto<sup>479</sup> (Franciosini, 1620)  
 Henriquez (1679): juego de pedrecicas, calculorum ludus.  
 Viridarium: ludus calculorum<sup>480</sup>

## HISTORIC DICTIONARY OF THE SPANISH LANGUAGE<sup>481</sup> (1981):

Alquerque, alcuerque, alcorque

(From Arabic. al-qīr **the game of 3 in a line**)

Alcorque, var. Doubtful in a ms. of ca. 1600 from the Book Cām. Real de Fernández Oviedo, cfr. acep. 2a b Cf. (alquer).

*Most of the data quoted in this dictionary are known, but we reflect them for greater clarity.*

### 1.A game similar to that of 3 in a line, of which several modalities existed.

1283 Alfonso X Acedrez<sup>482</sup> (1941) 362, 17 - 362, 26 - 368, 13

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<sup>478</sup> **COVARRUBIAS, Sebastian de** (1611). Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española. Madrid, 1611. Edición de Martín de Riquer de la Real Academia Española, Editorial Alta Fulla, Barcelona, 1987.

<sup>479</sup> **FRANCIOSINI, Lorenzo** (1620). Vocabulario Español e Italiano, 2 vols., Roma.

<sup>480</sup> **HENRIQUES HYBERNO, Baltasar** (1679). Thesaurus utriusque linguae hispanae et latinae. Madrid

<sup>481</sup> **DICCIONARIO HISTÓRICO DE LA LENGUA ESPAÑOLA** (1933-1936). Madrid. (Madrid 1979).

<sup>482</sup> **STEIGER, Arnald** (1941). Alfonso el Sabio - libros de acedrex, dados e tablas, Genève/Zürich/Erlenbach.

ca. 1529 Guevara: M. Aurelio<sup>483</sup> y Relox Principes (1658) 92a  
1539 Guevara<sup>484</sup>: Arte de Marear (1895) 56  
1603 Luque Faxardo<sup>485</sup>: Desengaño juegos <196>  
(Calcagninus / Ficoroni)



**Corporal**  
(Calcagninus/Ficoroni)

## **2. Striped board used for this game**

1283 *Alfonso X Acedrex*<sup>486</sup> (1941) 364,13 - 364,30 - 364,33

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<sup>483</sup> **GUEVARA, Antonio de** (1529). Libro llamado Relox de príncipes en el qual va encorporado el muy famoso libro de Marco Aurelio, Valladolid.

<sup>484</sup> **GUEVARA, Antonio de** (1539) Menosprecio de la Corte y alabanza de la aldea; Aviso de privados y doctrina de cortesanos; De los inventores del arte del marear y de muchos trabajos aque se pasan en las galeras, Valladolid. Herduk, Catedra, Madrid, 1984.

<sup>485</sup> **LUQUE FAJARDO, Francisco de** (1603). Fiel desengaño contra la ociosidad, y los juegos. Vtillísimo, a los confesores, y penitentes, justicias, y los demás, a cuyo cargo está limpiar de Vagabüdos, tahúres, y fulleros la República Christiana. En diálogo, Madrid.

<sup>486</sup> **STEIGER, Arnald** (1941). Alfonso el Sabio - libros de acedrex, dados e tablas, Genève/Zürich/Erlenbach.

### 1553 *Lopez Gómara, Conq. México 42a:*

algunas veces mirava Motecçuma cómo jugavan al Patoliztli, que parece mucho al juego de las tablas. Y que se juega con havas o frisoles <...>. Los quales menean entre ambas manos. Y los echan sobre una estera <...> donde hay ciertas rayas, como alquerque<sup>487</sup>. (See previous translation in this book)

1786 Dicc. Terreros<sup>488</sup>: - or alcuerque: Divided striped board to play with pebbles, kind of like checkers or chess.

#### **b. Figure similar to this board**

c. 1600 Book Cam. Real *Fdz Oviedo* (Ms, T88, 1870) 147  
note:

Otro se dize Navarra, y trae <de armas> un marro o alquerque de cadenas de oro en campo de goles vel sanguino. (var. ms. E110: trae en el escudo el marro o alcorque de las cadenas de oro).

1495 *Nebriya [of Nebrija?]*, et 1593 *Guadix*<sup>489</sup> <158>

1726-1970 Ac. 1786 Dicc. *Terreros*, Et. <*Terreros* recoge alquerque y alcuerque>

### 1593 HOLLYBAND

Le jeu des Merelles = the play of dammes: or five penie morice (Hollyband<sup>490</sup>, 1593)

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<sup>487</sup> **LÓPEZ DE GOMARA, Francisco** (1553). *Conquista de México*, Zaragoza.

<sup>488</sup> **TERREROS, Esteban de** (1786-1793). *Diccionario Castellano con las Voces de Ciencias y Artes y sus correspondientes en las 3 lenguas francesa, latina e italian*, 4 volumes, M.

<sup>489</sup> **GUADIX, Diego de** (1593). *Recopilación de algunos nombres arábigos que los moros .. pusieron a algunas ciudades ... con algunos vocablos y verbos arábigos.. de que comúnmente se usa en las lenguas latina, española e italiana*. ( Biblioteca Colombina).

### 1598 NICOT

Le ieu des Merelles = Scruporum ludus, B. (Nicot<sup>491</sup>, 1606)

### 1617 JOHN MINSHEU

#### The verb draughts is:

G. Iouer aux dames, T.B. Dammen, It. Giocare alle dame. H. Lugar de **alquerque** P. Iogar de **alquerque**, L. Ludere Scrupis Gr. Lusus Scruporum, Vi. Draughts supra

#### The draughts game is:

G. Jeu de Dames, Dames. Ital. le dame, giuco di dame, H. las Damas, Iuego de las damas, P. iogo de Damas, B. Dame-spel, dam-spel, damen, dammen. (Minsheu<sup>492</sup>, 1617)

### 1624 RODRIGO CARO

Juego de las damas [alquerque], Ludus Calculorum.  
(Caro<sup>493</sup>)

### 1627 CEASAR OUDIN

dames, ieu de dames, il gioco di damme su lo scacchiero. juego de **alquerque**. dames. il tavolero. **alquerque**, tablero (Oudin<sup>494</sup>, 1627)

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<sup>490</sup> **HOLLYBAND, Cladius** (1593). A dictionnaire French and English, London.

<sup>491</sup> **NICOT, Jean** (1606). Thresor de la langue François, Paris. Reprint Paris 1979.

<sup>492</sup> **MINSHEU, John** (1617b). Vocabularium Hispanicolatinum et Anglicum copiosum, London

<sup>493</sup> **CARO, Rodrigo** (1624). Días geniales o lúdricos, Manuscript. Edition of Jean-Pierre Etievre, Espasa-Calpe S.A., Madrid 1978. 2 volumes. Here volume I, p. 204.

## **1628 BARTOLOMÉ BRAVO**

Lugar al Marro: Ludere calculis discoloribus, ludere duodecim  
Scrupis, vel lapillus  
(Bravo<sup>495</sup>)

## **1630 MONET**

**Duodecim scruporum palaestra** - (probably draughts)

**Dames:**

Le ieu que nous pratiquons avec les tables, les Romains le traitoient  
avec des cailloux, ou mereaux (for hopscotch), dont lui est demeuré le  
nom de scrupi (....) (Monet<sup>496</sup>, 1630)

**Translation:**

The game that we practice with the tables the Romans played with  
pebbles or méreaux (for hopscotch, alquerque), from which the name  
scrupi was obtained (....)

## **1639 SCHAT VAN DRIE TALEN**

Damas, jeu de dames = juego de **alquerque** (alquerque game)

Damier = alquerque, tablero (alquerque, board) (Schat van drie  
talen<sup>497</sup>, 1639)

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<sup>494</sup> **ODIN, Ceasar** (1627). Le thresor des trois langues, espagnole, françois  
et italienne, Genève.

<sup>495</sup> **BRAVO, Bartolomé** (1628). Thesaurus verborum ac phrasium ad  
orationem ex hispana latinam efficiendam ..., p. 162.

<sup>496</sup> **MONET, Philibert** (1630) Abrégé du parallele des langues françoise, et  
Latine, Lyon

<sup>497</sup> **SCHAT VAN DRIE TALEN DUYTSCH, SPAENSCH EN  
FRANSCH** (1636). Antwerpen

### **1646 TROGNESEIUS**

Alquerque = jeu des eschets ou de dames, c'est aussi un jeu qui se fait avec des gettons/schaekspel. Damier = Alquerque, tablero (Trognesius<sup>498</sup>, 1646)

#### **Translation:**

Alquerque = chess or draughts, it is also a game played with getton / chess. Draughtsboard = Alquerque board

### **1659 ARNALDO DE LA PORTE**

Schaeck-scijve = pieça de alquerque, pieça de tablero (board piece)

Alquerque = schaekspel (chess)

Dames, jeu de dames = juego de alquerque (alquerque game) (Porte<sup>499</sup>, 1659)

### **1706 ESTEBAN DE TERREROS**

(....) o alcuerque = tablero rayado y dividido, para jugar con piedrecitas, al modo de juego de damas o ajedrez. (Terrerros<sup>500</sup>, 1786-1793)

#### **Translation:**

(.....) Or Alquerque = A board divided by lines with small stones to play as in chess or draughts.

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<sup>498</sup> **TROGNESEIUS** (1646) Den grooten dictionaris en schadt van dry talen, Antwerpen

<sup>499</sup> **PORTE, Arnold de la** (1659). Den Nieuwen dictionaris oft schadt der duytsen en de spaensche talen, Antwerpen.

<sup>500</sup> **TERREROS, Esteban de** (1786-1793) Diccionario Castellano con las Voces de Ciencias y Artes y sus correspondientes en las 3 lenguas; francesa, latina e italiana, 4 volumes, M.



### **1712 DANETIUS**

**Scrupis ludere** = jouer aux dames ou à la marelle avec de petits cailloux, Polis. (Danetius<sup>501</sup>, 1712)

#### **Translation:**

Scrupis ludere = playing draughts or hopscotch with small pebbles, Polis.

### **1718 TESORO DOS VOCABULOS DAS DUAS LINGUAS** (Alewijn<sup>502</sup>, 1718)

Juego de **Alquerque**: Een spel dat met key- of keiselsteentjes gespeeld werd.

#### **Translation:**

Juego de Alquerque: A game that was played with pebbles.

### **1759 M. DE SEJOURNANT**

**Alquerque** = t. arabe. Espèce de jeu de dames. Lat. calculorum ou Scruporum ludus.

(A type of draughts)

(Sejournant<sup>503</sup>, 1759)

### **1763 GIRAL DELPINO**

**Alquerque**, the game of draughts (Giral<sup>504</sup>, 1763)

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<sup>501</sup> **DANETIUS, Petrus** (1712). Magnum dictionarium latinum et gallicum, Lugdunum.

<sup>502</sup> **ALEWIJN, A.** (1718). Tesoro dos vocabulos das duas linguas, Amsterdam.

<sup>503</sup> **SEJOURNANT, M. de** (1759) Nouveau dictionnaire François - Espagnol. Composé sur les dictionnaires de Académies Royale de Madrid et de Paris.

<sup>504</sup> **GIRAL DELPINO, JOSEPH** (1763). Diccionario Español è Inglés, è Inglés y Español (...). London.

**1786 J. BARETTI**

**Alquerque** = the game of draughts (Baretti<sup>505</sup>, 1786)

**1790 GATTEL**

Alquerque, Arab. Espèce of jeu de dame. Scruporum Ludus.  
(Gattel<sup>506</sup>, 1790)

(A type of draughts)

**1795 C.A. SCHMIDT: DICCIONARIO ESPAÑOL**

**Alquerque** = eine Art Damenspiel (Schmidt<sup>507</sup>, 1795)

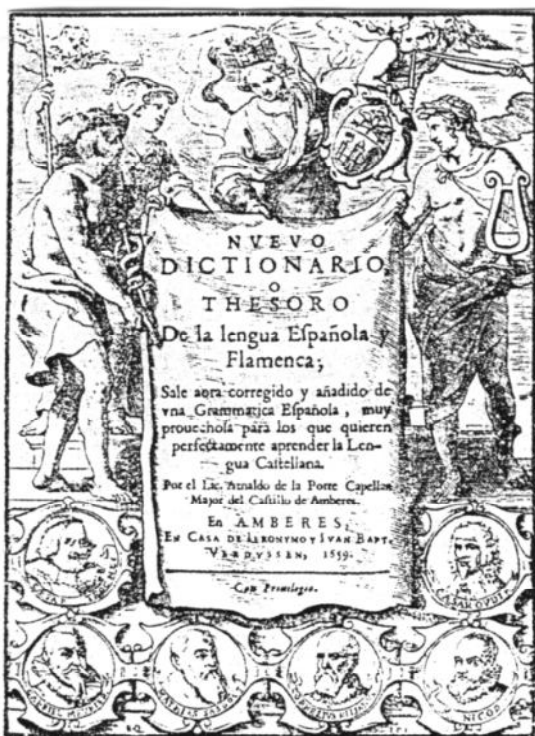
(A type of draughts)

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<sup>505</sup> **BARETTI. J.** (1786). Diccionario Español e Inglés, London

<sup>506</sup> **GATTEL** (1790) Nouveau Dictionnaire Espagnol et François, Lyon.

<sup>507</sup> **SCHMIDT, C.A.** (1795). Diccionario Español y Aleman, Leipzig.



**Arnaldo de la Porte: Dictionary. With images of:  
 Trognésius, Meurier, Sasbout, Kiliaan, Nicot, Oudin**

After having studied the alquerque descriptions in the various texts of the books and dictionaries it appeared that at the beginning of the 16th century alquerque 12 was probably played in Italy with 10 pieces and 2 corporals at the beginning of the game. It is not clear if there was promotion in this game.

The draughts, which was a new game around 1500, might have been played in two ways:

- On the chessboard with 12 pawns

- . Probably on a line board with 12 pawns
- . On both boards the new Dama piece was used
- . On both boards the promotion was new

Francesch Vicent learned from Celio Calcagnini and he took over in draughts in the beginning position the two corporals from alquerque in the form of two damas. Apart from using the two damas in the beginning draughts had promotion. These events are described in the book of Juan de Timoneda that appears to have been published in 1547, although the texts appear to have been from the beginning of the 15th century.

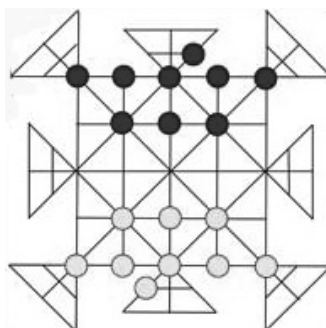
<b>Latin</b>	<b>Autor</b>	<b>Traducción</b>
Duodecim scrupis	Marcus Tullius Cicero	
duodecim scrupis	Desiderius Erasmus	1500
ludo duodecim scruporum	Marco Fabius Quintilianus	1417
lusu duodecim Scruporum	Gerolamo Cardano	1526
Scruporum duodecim lusus, Fabio	Hadrianus Iunius	Le ieu aux dames (Draughts) 1567
Scruporum duodecim ludus fabis	Ulisses Aldrovandi	1556
Lusus duodecim Scruporum	Cornelius Kilianus	Damspel (Draughts) 1588
Ludus duodecim scruporum,	Theophilo Golio	Der Zwölfte stein 1529
Duodecim scrupis	Bartolomé Bravo	Juego del Marro 1628

Calcolorum ludus	Antonio de Nebrija	Alquerque (Alquerque-12) Chess 1495
Calcolorum ludus	Antonio de Nebrija	Andarraia <b>NOVUM</b> 1495
Domina-ae	Antonio de Nebrija	<b>NOVUM</b> 1495
Calculis	Juan Luis Vives	Alquerque-12 1538
	Juan Luis Vives	Alquerque-12 1555
Las Damas	Diego Durán	1570
	Juan Luis Vives	Aux dames 1573
	Johannes Thomas Freig	Duodecim Scrupi seu calculi Der zwölffte Stein Gallis le jeu au danies 1582
Ludus calculorum	Rodrigo Caro	Juego de las damas 1624

## 9.7 Different versions of Alquerque

### 9.7.1 Terhüchü – 9 pieces

And so we finally come to the expanded alquerque 12 game with 8 triangles that is known under the name of Terhüchü. It is a game from India, and specifically from Assam and Angami Nagas<sup>508</sup>.



**Terhüchü**

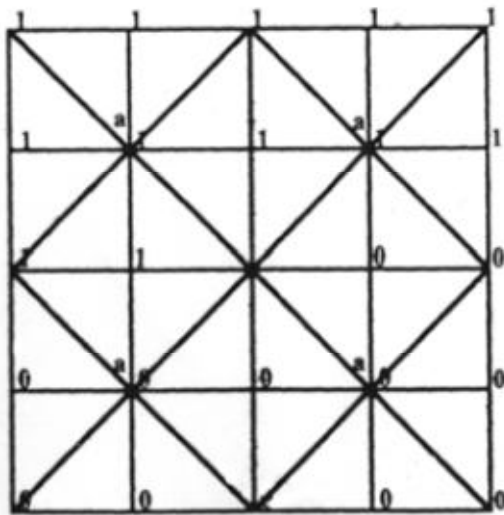
In most of these alquerque varieties the Dama with her long leap was not used and in all these games there was no promotion.

However, things slowly changed in the 16th century when the powerful Dama was introduced in draughts and chess. Then we see the powerful Dama capturing many pieces with her long leap suddenly appear on the alquerque board and the games in the Sahara called Damma or Zamma (described in previous pages) are a good example of this new variety.

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<sup>508</sup> **HUTTON, J.R. (1921)** The Angami Nagas. London, p. 102. Cited by **MURRAY, Harold James Ruthven. (1952)** A history of Board Games Other Than Chess, Oxford, p. 68

### 9.7.2 Ersêsêr - 12 pieces



**Ersêsêr**

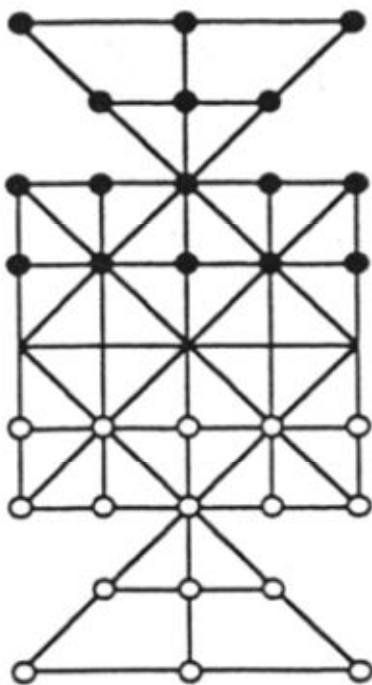
This alquerque game was described by Neuman<sup>509</sup> and Joustra<sup>510</sup> who knew 4 variations. Each player had 12 pieces, as reflected in the drawing. The original way is to capture each other, but the writer does not say whether the pieces can be moved backward, so this is something we have to admit. One capture till the enemy has no more pieces or has blocked them all. If a piece is placed on an intersection point **a**, then the enemy pieces that are on the edge at the ends of the line have been blocked and can be captured. It is played in Central Sumatra. (Jansen, 1992:40-41)

<sup>509</sup> NEUMAN, J.H. (1906). Karo-Bataksche kinderspelen in Mededelingen vanwege het Nederlandsche Zendelinggenootschap, Vol. 50, p. 360.

<sup>510</sup> JOUSTRA, M. (1910). Batakspiegel, Leiden, p. 142.

JOUSTRA, M. (1926). Batakspiegel, 2e druk, Leiden, p. 151.

### 9.7.3 Dam-daman - 16 pieces



**Dam-Daman  
Tampul**

In Java a type of game of checkers is played under the name **Dam-daman**<sup>511</sup> which has 16 pieces. We find the same game

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<sup>511</sup> **ENCYCLOPEDIE VAN NEDERLANDSCH-INDIË** (1921) 2e druk, volume 4, Den Haag, pp. 57 and 61.

**ENGELHARDS, H.E.D.** (1884). Mededeelingen over het Eiland Saleijer, in Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië, Fourth Ser., viii, p. 315.

**CAMPBELL, D.M.** (1915). Java Past and Present, London, p. 1017.



again according to Maasz<sup>512</sup> in Central Sumatra under the name **Thatoer**. Hasselt<sup>513</sup> uses the term **Tjatoewe**. Veth<sup>514</sup> speaks of **Tjatuwe**. This type of game of checkers is still practiced today in Indonesia<sup>515</sup>. This game can be found in Malaysia<sup>516</sup>. Cense<sup>517</sup> uses the term game of checkers for a game with 16 pieces.

The Bataks also practice a game in which 16 pieces are used and where the center square is not empty at the beginning, but all parts of the middle line. Dr. Winkler<sup>518</sup> says that this game is called **Tampul** and that the board is recognized as a **Usir** board. Klinkert<sup>519</sup> mentions a game with 16 red pieces and 16 white pieces called **tabal**. This game can be found under other names in Sri Lanka and Pakistan, as we can see in Botermans<sup>520</sup> book.

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<sup>512</sup> **MAASZ, M.A.** (1910). *Durch Zentral-Sumatra*, p. 317.

<sup>513</sup> **HASSELT, A.L. Van** (1882). *Volksbeschrijving van Midden-Sumatra*, Leiden, p. 127.

<sup>514</sup> **VETH, D.D.** (1882) *Midden-Sumatra*, p. 127.

<sup>515</sup> **JANSEN, Rob** (1992). *Draughts Magazine Hoofddlijn*, Amsterdam, pp. 40-41.

<sup>516</sup> **PLISCHKE, Karl** (1890). *Archives Internationales d'ethnographie*, volume 3. *Kürze Mitteilung über 2 Malayische Spiele*, pp. 189-194.

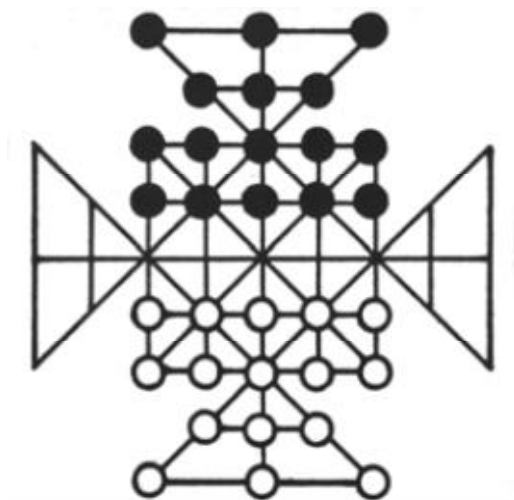
<sup>517</sup> **CENSE, A.A.** (1869). *Makassaars-Nederlandsch Woordenboek*, Den Haag.

<sup>518</sup> **WINKLER, Johannes** (1926). *Baessler Archiv., Beitrage zur Voelkerkunde*, 10e jrg., *Das Usir-spiel der Batak auf Sumatra*.

<sup>519</sup> **KLINKERT, H.C.** (1926). *Nieuw Nederlandsch-Maleisch Woordenboek*, 3e druk, Leiden.

<sup>520</sup> **BOTERMANS, Jack** (1989). *El libro de los Juegos, Esplugas de Llobregat* (Barcelona).

#### 9.7.4 Soldiers game – 16 pieces



Soldiers game

This game is practiced in Ceylon and India, in which each player has 16 pieces. A variant of this game is one with 23 pieces; Bell<sup>521</sup> (1979) used to say that for this a triangle was placed to the left and right. Worth mentioning is the fact that the game of alquerque is known in India under the name of "draughts"<sup>522</sup>.

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<sup>521</sup> **BELL, R.C.** (1979) Board and table games from many civilizations, New York.

<sup>522</sup> **GUPTA, Hem Chandra Das** (1924). Draughts (.....). Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, New Series 20.

### 9.7.5    **Mughal Pathan – 16 pieces**

And so we automatically come to a similar alquerque board with two triangles<sup>523</sup> called Mughal Pathan, or Cows and Leopards. Either player has sixteen pieces placed on the crosspoints of the lines<sup>524</sup>, one player on the left of the board and the other on the right. Players move alternatively and can move in any direction along a line to an adjacent point. A capture is made by jumping over an enemy piece to a vacant point beyond - several pieces can be captured in one move by a series of leaps over single enemy pieces. A player loses when all their pieces have been captured. As an additional rule it is suggested that if a player fails to make a capture, the piece is "huffed" and removed from the board. A variant gives each player seven extra pieces placed on the points of the triangle to the player's left<sup>525</sup>.

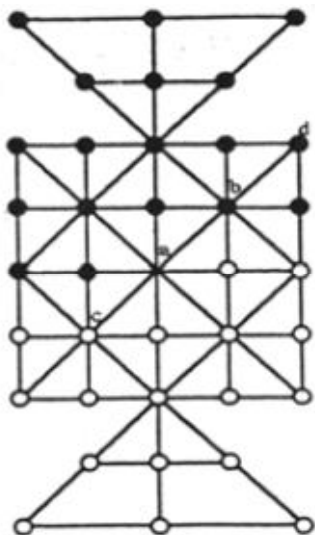
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<sup>523</sup> Murray described a lot of them. See: **MURRAY, Harold James Ruthven** (1952) *A History of Board Games Other Than Chess*, Oxford, p. 67

<sup>524</sup> **CHOPRA, Dr. P.N.** (1921) *Life and Letters Under the Mughals*, New Delhi, p. 60

<sup>525</sup> **BELL, Robbie; BELL, Robert Charles; CORNELIUS, Michael** (1988) *Board Games Around the World*, Cambridge University Press.

### 9.7.6 Malingan – 18 pieces



Malingan

*Maasz*<sup>526</sup> confirms that the game of thieves with 2x18 pieces was practiced in Sumatra and is also called **main-main batu** according to Raffles<sup>527</sup>. The game is mostly called Malingan = game of thieves = translation of the Roman game **Ludus Latrunculorum**<sup>528</sup>.

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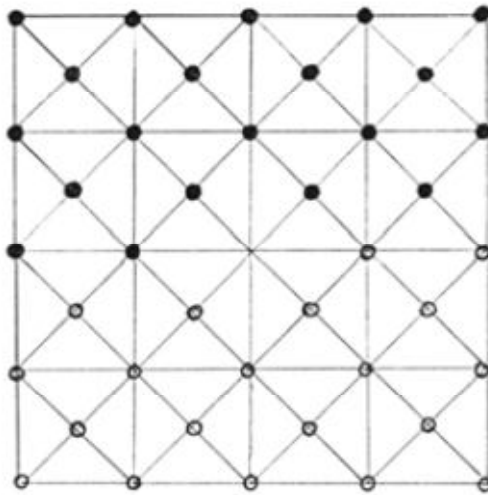
<sup>526</sup> MAASZ, M.A. (1910). *Durch Zentral-Sumatra*.

<sup>527</sup> RAFFLES, Thomas Stamford (1817). *The history of Java*, London.

<sup>528</sup> JANSEN, Rob (1992). *Draughts Magazine Hoofddlijn*, Amsterdam, pp. 40-41.

### 9.7.7 Tûkunanawöpi - 20 pieces

Culin<sup>529</sup> describes this type of alquerque usually played by 2 or 4 people. Each player has 20 pieces (animals) and can play or capture in any direction.



**Tûkunanawöpi**

Removing an enemy piece is performed by capturing into an empty box just behind the enemy piece. As soon as a row of points of intersections is free of pieces, it is no longer used, so at the end of the game it takes place in very few points of intersections. Those no longer participating in the game are called **houses** and the pieces (animals) are placed over them.

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<sup>529</sup> CULIN, Stewart (1907) Games of the North American Indians, p. 794.

According to Botermans<sup>530</sup> (this version is also called **Zamma** in the Sahara.

Everything here also indicates that the word *houses* derives from the Spanish word **casas**.

### **Tuknanavuhpi in the Canary Islands**

Consequently the sixteenth century was the century of the change of the alquerque 12 game to draughts on the chessboard, but this change was gradual. Not everybody immediately accepted this draughts game. Instead of playing draughts the Hopi Indians (Oraibi, Arizona) played a type of alquerque called Tuknanavuhpi on the same board as the alquerque 12 board of 4 horizontal and 4 vertical lines, but now using the diagonal lines<sup>531</sup> much more as in the draughts board (Spanish chess board).

On this board each player has 20 pieces and the game is the same as alquerque-12, thus with the central point free. This board is only found in Tenerife (Canary Islands) and not on the other islands<sup>532</sup>. It also appears to be a game in Mauritania<sup>533</sup>.

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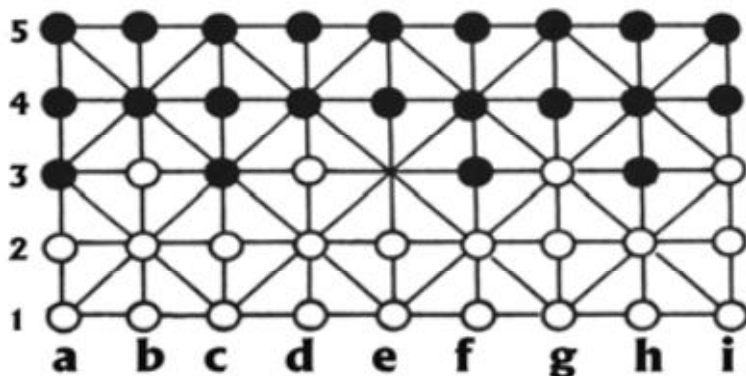
<sup>530</sup> **BOTERMANS, Jack** (1989). El libro de los Juegos, Esplugas de Llobregat (Barcelona).

<sup>531</sup> **CULIN, Stewart** (1907) Games of the North American Indians, p. 794

<sup>532</sup> **ESPINEL CEJAS, José Manuel & GARCÍA-TALavera CASANAS, Francisco** (2009) Juegos guanches inéditos, p. 202

<sup>533</sup> **MOKHTAR, Ould Hamidoun** (1952) Précis sur la Mauritanie. IFAN Saint-Louis, Mauretania

### 9.7.8 Fanorona - 22 pieces



**Fanorona (Malagasy chess)**

According to Bell<sup>534</sup> this game was invented in 1680 in Madagascar by taking a double alquerque board. This game was described by Montgomery<sup>535</sup>, Chauvicaourt<sup>536</sup>, Thanassecos<sup>537</sup>, and Fox<sup>538</sup>.

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<sup>534</sup> **BELL, Robbie; BELL, Robert Charles; CORNELIUS, Michael** (1988) *Board Games Around the World*, Cambridge University Press.

<sup>535</sup> **MONTGOMERY, W.** (1896). The Malagasy Game of Fanorona, in *Antananarivo Annuall*, iii.

<sup>536</sup> **CHAUVICOURT, J. & CHAUVICOURT, S.** (1980). Le fanorona: jeu national malgache. Antananarivo: Editions de la Librairie de Madagascar.

<sup>537</sup> **THANASSECOS, Nadine** (1977). Le Fanorona, in "Ludotype 7". L'Impensé Radicaï, Paris.

<sup>538</sup> **CHAUVICOURT, J. & CHAUVICOURT, S.** (1984). Fanorona: The National Game of Madagascar, translated by Leonard Fox (Charleston: International Fanorona Association).

Fanorona is derived from the ancient alquerque 12 game and the rules of this game are as follows:

Players take alternate turns, starting with the white. We distinguish two kinds of moves, noncapturing and capturing. A noncapturing move is called *paika*. A paika move consists of moving one stone along a line to an adjacent intersection. Capturing moves are obligatory and have to be played in preference to paika moves. Capturing implies removing one or more pieces of the opponent. It can be done in two ways, by approach or by withdrawal. An approach is moving the capturing stone to a point adjacent to an opponent stone provided that the stone is on the continuation of the capturing stone's movement line. A withdrawal works analogously to an approach, except that the movement is away from the opponent stone. When an opponent stone is captured, all opponent pieces in line behind that stone (as long as there is no interruption by an empty point or an own stone) are captured as well. If a player can do an approach and a withdrawal at the same time, he has to choose which one he plays.

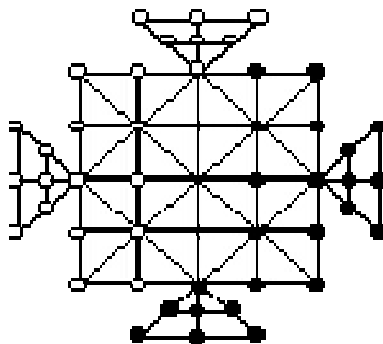
As in draughts, the capturing piece is allowed to continue making successive captures with these restrictions:

The piece is not allowed to arrive at the same position twice. It is not allowed to move a piece in the same direction as directly before in the capturing sequence. This can happen if an approach follows a withdrawal. The game ends when one player captures all the stones of the opponent. If neither player can achieve this, the game is a draw.



### 9.7.9 Perali Kotuma - 23 pieces

There exists another expanded alquerque board with 4 triangles and its name is Perali Kotuma<sup>539</sup>. This game was also played in India according to Parker<sup>540</sup> and each player has twenty-three men.



**Perali Kotuma**

Each player's pieces are initially set up on the first four ranks of their side of the board, and on the triangle patterned board to the right of the player. A piece moves one space per turn in any direction following the pattern on the board onto an unoccupied point on the board. A piece can capture an enemy piece in any direction by the short leap as in draughts or alquerque. The player's piece must be adjacent to the enemy piece, and leap over it to a vacant point on the other side. The leap must be in a straight line following the pattern on the board. The same piece can continue to capture and even change direction to capture

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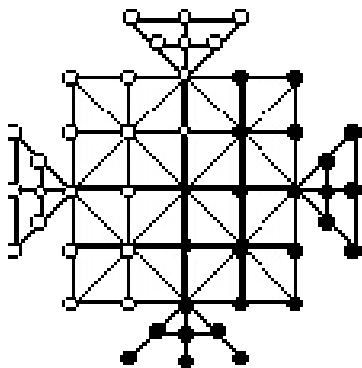
<sup>539</sup> **MURRAY, Harold James Ruthven.** (1952) *A History of Board Games Other Than Chess*, Oxford, p. 68

<sup>540</sup> **PARKER, Henry** (1909) *Ancient Ceylon*. London, p. 583

provided that the capturing requirements are satisfied. Captures are compulsory. A piece must continue to capture if it is able to do so. Captured pieces are removed from the board. If a player has more than one option to capture, the player can choose one of them.

### 9.7.10 Kotu Ellima - 24 pieces

There also exist expanded alquerque 12 boards with 4 triangles. In Ceylon there is a game called Kotu Ellima<sup>541</sup> and Parker described this game too<sup>542</sup>, in which each player has twenty-four men. Sri Lanka is the current name of Ceylon.



**Kotu Ellima**

Each player's pieces are initially set up on their half of the board, and the triangle board to each player's right. Each player places one piece on the intersection point to the right of the middle point from the view of each player. Only the middle point is left vacant at the beginning of the game. A piece moves one space per turn in any direction following the pattern on the board onto an unoccupied point on the board. A piece can capture an enemy piece in any direction by the short leap as in draughts or alquerque. The player's piece must be adjacent to the enemy piece, and leap over it onto a vacant point on the other side. The leap must be in a straight line following the

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<sup>541</sup> **MURRAY, Harold James Ruthven.** (1952) *A History of Board Games Other Than Chess*, Oxford, p. 68

<sup>542</sup> **PARKER, Henry** (1909) *Ancient Ceylon*. London, p. 583

pattern on the board. The same piece can continue to capture and even change direction to capture provided that the capturing requirements are satisfied. Captures are compulsory. A piece must continue to capture if it is able to do so. Captured pieces are removed from the board. If a player has more than one option to capture, the player can choose any (and only) one of them.

## 9.7.11 Meurimuëng - 40 pieces

### Meurimuëng - Rimuëng Penët Ploh - 40 pieces

Raffles<sup>543</sup>, Eggink<sup>544</sup>, and Snouck<sup>545</sup> mention this game called **Tiger game**, in which each player has 40 pieces. You can move in any direction and capture, but capturing is not mandatory. According to Mayer<sup>546</sup> and Coolsma<sup>547</sup> in Java this game is called **dam-adman** originating from the Dutch word *dam*. Béart<sup>548</sup> tells us that in the Sahara this game was practiced on top of 81 points of intersection under the name **les bâtonnets**. Pieces can only move forward, but capturing is both forward and backward.

#### 9.7.11.1 Damma

Murray<sup>549</sup> reflects this game in his book under the name **Damma** and **Zamma** and Monod<sup>550</sup> uses the term **Damma**.

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<sup>543</sup> **RAFFLES, Thomas Stamford** (1817). The history of Java, London, p. 350.

<sup>544</sup> **EGGINK, H.J.** (1932). Iets over kinderspelen in Mandailing. In Ts. voor Indische Taal-Land-Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Indië, p. 700.

<sup>545</sup> **SNOUCK HURGRONJE, C.** (1894). De Atjehers, Leiden, p.209.

**SNOUCK-HURGRONJE, C.** (1906). The Achehnese, translated by A.W.S. O'Sullivan, Leyden/London vol. 2.

<sup>546</sup> **MAYER, L. TH.** (1867). Een blik in het Javaansche Volksleven, p. 322.

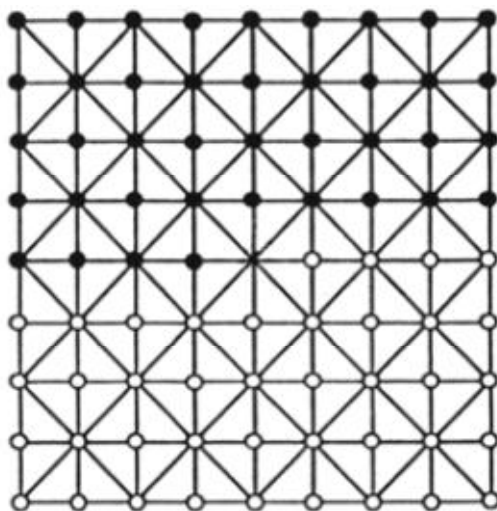
<sup>547</sup> **COOLSMA, S.** (1910). Hollandsch-Soendaneesch Woordenboek, Leiden.

<sup>548</sup> **BÉART, CH.** (1955). Jeux et jouets de l'ouest africain, tome II Dakar. (Mémoires de l'institut français d'Afrique noir) (IFANI) Bibliotheek Tropenmuseum.

<sup>549</sup> **MURRAY, Harold James Ruthven** (1952) A history of Board-games other than chess, Oxford, pp. 25-25.

<sup>550</sup> **MONOD, TH.** (1950). Sur quelques jeux africains. Notes Africains, pp. 11-12.

Jansen (1993: 22-23) deals with this game in the draughts magazine “Hoofdlijn”<sup>551</sup>.



**Meurimuëng - Rimuëng Penët Ploh**

### **Damma in the Canary Islands**

We see the same idea of using more the diagonals as a result of the new draughts game in Marroc, Argelia and other North African countries and before all in the Western Sahara and Mauritania<sup>552</sup>, where it is called Damma (Zamma, Srand, or Dhamet).

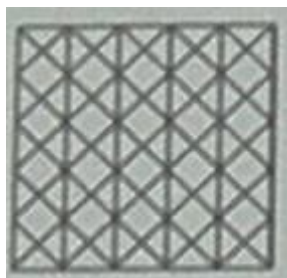
This game with 40 pieces on each side is strangely enough only found in Fuenteventura (Canary Islands), but not on the other islands or in Spain. Probably the Arabs developed this new

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<sup>551</sup> **JANSEN, Rob** (1993). Draughts Magazine *Hoofdlijn*, Amsterdam, pp. 22-23.

<sup>552</sup> **ESPINEL CEJAS, José Manuel & GARCÍA-TALavera CASAÑAS, Francisco** (2009) Juegos guanches inéditos, pp. 75-79

game once the dama was introduced in draughts in Spain. A similar board, but without the horizontal lines, we find in Tenerife (Canary Islands)<sup>553</sup>.

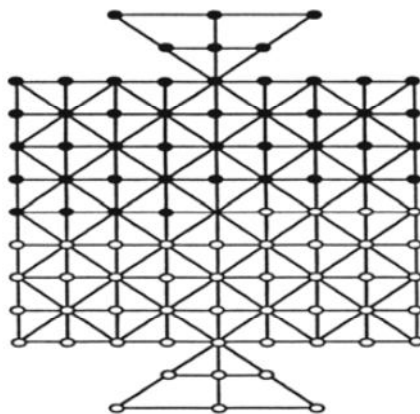


I cannot find more news about this board in the important work of Mr. Espinel Cejas, so I do not know anything about the pieces used, nor the probable age of this board.

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<sup>553</sup> **ESPINEL CEJAS, José Manuel & GARCÍA-TALavera**  
**CASAÑAS, Francisco** (2009) Juegos guanches inéditos, p. 202.

### 9.7.12 Satoel - 46 pieces



Satoel

A game of Malay origin, as reported by Jacobson<sup>554</sup>, in which each player has 46 pieces. Now you should try, turn by turn, to capture the maximum amount of enemy pieces. An enemy piece is captured by jumping over it if the intersection point behind the enemy piece is unoccupied. You can also capture more pieces at once, provided that there are empty points of intersection between the pieces. You can capture in any direction - forward, backward, orthogonally, and vertically. Pieces also move in any direction from one intersection point to another. The one who loses all his pieces loses the game<sup>555</sup>. (Jansen, 1993:22-23).

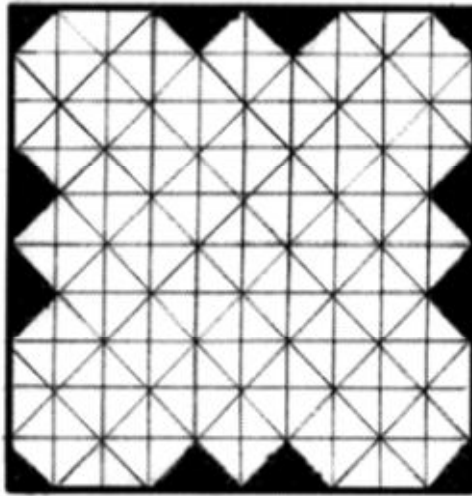
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<sup>554</sup> **JACOBSON, Edward** (1919). Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-Land- en Volkenkunde (Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, volume 58) - Simaloerese sprookjes, overleveringen, raadsels en spelen.

<sup>555</sup> **JANSEN, Rob** (1993). Draughts Magazine *Hoofdlijn*, Amsterdam, pp. 22-23.



### 9.7.13 Amsterdam State Museum - 54 pieces

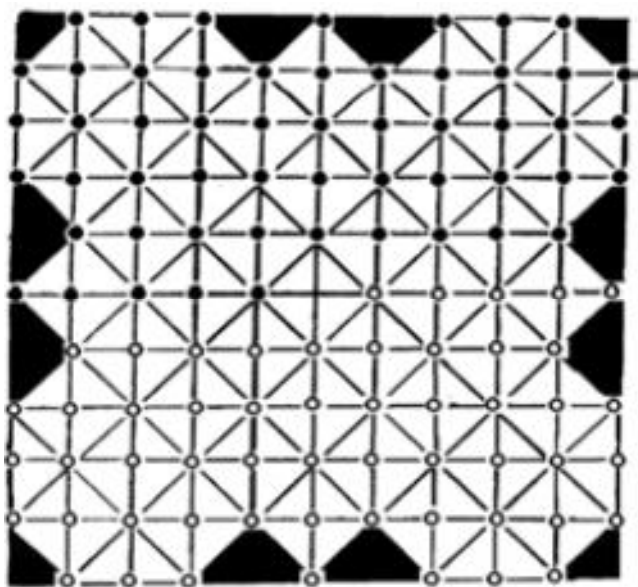


**Rijksmuseum's board at  
Amsterdam. (Alquerque?)**

This museum by the name of "Rijksmuseum" has a board for tables, chess and alquerque, consisting of 100 squares. At the edges of the board there are some obscured triangles. If pieces are not placed there, the available number of points of intersection is  $2 \times 54$  with 1 empty point in the center. This amount corresponds to the candidate game of **Penélope** (With Athenaeus). The game board is from the early seventeenth century and probably originated in southern Germany<sup>556</sup>

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<sup>556</sup> **JANSEN, Rob** (1993) Private communication.



### 108 Crown candidates?

Caro<sup>557</sup> described the game of 108 candidates of **Penélope**. This game was named in Homerus, Athenaeus (c. 200 AD) and mentioned by all humanists who wrote about the classic games. Rob Jansen<sup>558</sup> notes that on the Rijksmuseum board only 108 pieces (2x54) can be placed, leaving an empty central place for **Penélope**.

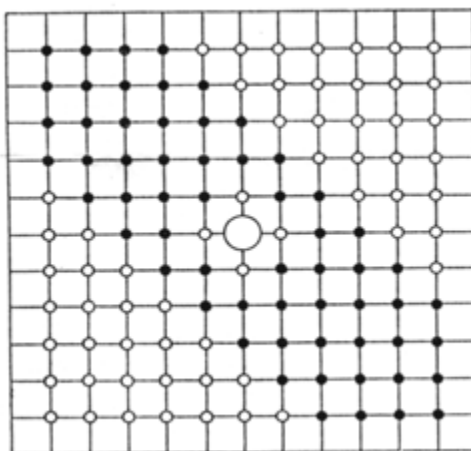
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<sup>557</sup> **CARO, Rodrigo** (1624). *Días geniales o lútricos*, Manuscript. Editie van Jean-Pierre Etienvre, Espasa-Calpe S.A., Madrid 1978. 2 volumes. Vol. 2, pp. 150-152.

<sup>558</sup> **JANSEN, Rob** (1993) Private communication.

### 9.7.14 Diagrammismos (grammai) – 60 pieces

Several Roman authors have mentioned this game, but we know nothing certain about the board or how it was played. It was played on lines and each player had 60 pieces<sup>559</sup>. There is a game called **Chuki**. Other authors<sup>560</sup> use the term **Tjoeki**. For a further description of the various games similar to alquerque we recommend consulting Murray's (1952) work.



**Chuki**

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<sup>559</sup> **MURRAY, Harold James Rutven** (1952) A history of Board-games other than chess, Oxford, pp. 25-26.

**KRUIJSWIJK, Karel Wendel** (1966). Algemene historie en bibliografie van het damspel, Den Haag, p. 164.

**CARO, Rodrigo** (1624). Días geniales o lútricos, Manuscrypt. Editie van Jean-Pierre Etievre, Espasa-Calpe S.A., Madrid 1978. 2 Volumes, Vol. I, p. 170.

<sup>560</sup> **MURRAY, Harold James Rutven** (1952) A history of Board-games other than chess, Oxford, p.94.

**WALL, H. Von de** (1880). Maleisch-Nederlandsch Woordenboek, Batavia.

**VETH, P.H.** (1875). Java, geogr., ethn., hist., volume I, p. 625.

Finally we note that according to Winter<sup>561</sup> it was played on a board of 144 squares. There was a game called **metjoeki** and it was a kind of game of checkers<sup>562</sup>. Matthes<sup>563</sup> also mentions a game of checkers **adângang**. Murray<sup>564</sup> confirms that the Dutch brought the game to East India in the seventeenth century. Probably the Spanish or Portuguese introduced the small checkerboard of 64 squares in the seventeenth century, which was later replaced by the Dutch with the large board of 100 squares.

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<sup>561</sup> **WINTER, H.N.J.** (1930). Damspel van de inlanders van Malakka. Draughts Magazine *Het Damspel*, pp. 6-7.

<sup>562</sup> **ECK, R. van** (1880) Schetsen van het eiland Bali, in Ts. Nederlandsch Indië, 2, p. 17.

<sup>563</sup> **MATTHES, Benjamin Frederik** (1875). Bijdragen tot de Ethnologie van Z-Celebes, Den Haag, p. 126.

<sup>564</sup> **MURRAY, Harold James Ruthven** (1925). Draughts Magazine *Het Damspel*, pp. 109-110.

## 9.8 Conclusion

As in the game of marro, historians use the term *juego de fichas* (Schijvenspel in Dutch) for alquerque-12, but it was played in Spain in the period between 1283 - c. 1700 with some kind of pawn and that's why I like the term *juego de piezas* (Stukkenspel in Dutch) better.

Probably the board of Alquerque-12 - think on a board without pieces - was already known in the Roman times for different games. As several authors from the sixteenth century always refer to the Roman times, it cannot be anything other than that the game of checkers went through gradual stages of developments. I do not think that alquerque of 12, as described by King Alfonso X the Wise, had already had the "crowning" of the lady (queen) in the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries. Van der Stoep thinks about this possibility, but evidence is needed for such claim. In other words, in my opinion the game of alquerque-12 has never been a game of checkers, even if this game had the "crowning". The difference between the two games is too big. Therefore, there must have been a transitional game. This game could be andarraya, discovered by Rob Jansen, which was probably a game of checkers. This is because a piece that had reached the 8th row could return either in the form of a piece or in the form of a short or weak lady (dame). I need more proof here for the weak dame. But here I see two possibilities. The piece, once arrived in the 8th row, could go back in two diagonal directions and then not have the status of a lady (dame). If, however, the piece, once crowned, could go back and then forward again, i.e. in 4 diagonal directions, then such piece had to be marked. In this case the piece was therefore a short or weak lady (dame).

This game called andarraya is no longer seen in the sixteenth century. The game keeps being played under the name of alquerque, while the game of alquerque of 12, as mentioned in the book of King Alfonso X the Wise, slowly died now that the game of checkers became very popular on the chessboard and stripes. I see this new game of alquerque, i.e. the previous game of andarraya (eventually the striped system of andarraya on a chessboard) as a game of checkers.

All historians with all their hypotheses always mention the chessboard, but for the game of checkers it is not absolutely necessary - if we think about the game of andarraya such as played on 32 holes or on intersections (Philippine's game).

The fact that dictionaries sometimes mention alquerque as a chess game is because it was played in Spain until 1700 with some kind of chess pawns on the alquerque and chess boards.

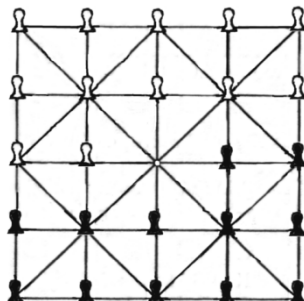
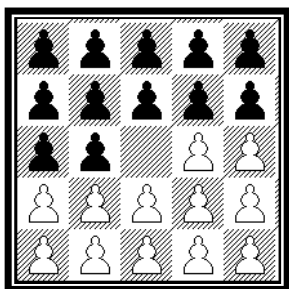
## 10 ALQUERQUE-12 AND ITS FORERUNNERS

(José Antonio Garzón Roger<sup>565</sup>)

**King Alfonso X the Wise stated in 1283 that the alquerque 12 game had borrowed something of chess, backgammon, and dice.**

### 10.1 From Chess

- 1.- It is played with the head, applying intelligent reasoning (thinking)
- 2.- The pieces are like chess pawns



**Alquerque starting position in 1283.** The pieces are all together forming one block and leaving free the central square. Left: analog transfer to a checkered 5 x 5 board.

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<sup>565</sup> **GARZON ROGER, José Antonio** (2004) El rey Alfonso X el Sabio. In: **WESTERVELD, Govert** (2004) La reina Isabel la Católica: su reflejo en la dama poderosa de Valencia, cuna del ajedrez moderno y origen del juego de damas. In collaboration with José Antonio Garzón Roger. Generalidad Valenciana, Conselleria de Cultura, Educació i Esport, Valencia, pp. 236-240

## 10.2 From backgammon

1. The possibility that the game can end in a draw.
2. The signs carried out on the board where you put the pieces together. Reading the chapter on tables there is no doubt about that. The possibility that these signs were carried out on the pawns for marking a coronation (for example) do not exist. **In backgammon the signs are used to indicate placement of the discs.** The thick lines of alquerque 12 mark the routes or movements of the pieces and their intersections, as said Alfonso X, indicating the location of the pawns that have to be located all in az [again here] (all together forming a bunch).

## 10.3 From the dice

The dice determines who begins the game, because as the wise King says, who starts the game has a worse game.

Important: Due to the confusion that still exists, the seriousness that requires this matter, and the frivolity with which many players and historians have come to its rules, on August 2 2003 in Chelva, Garzón practiced alquerque with a good childhood friend and an excellent chess player, José Martínez Llopart. The game that had been played in those days removed any doubts about the game. Garzón, with the alquerque board as testing bench, could set the following:

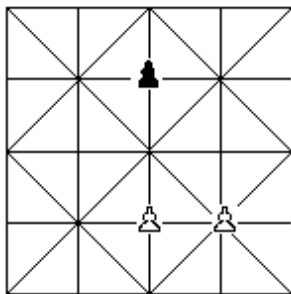
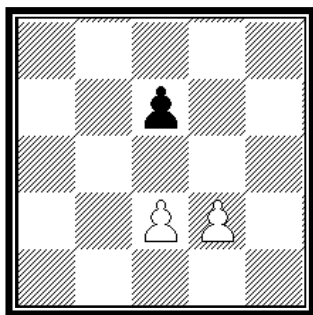
## 10.4 Synopsis of the development of the game:

The pieces move one step in any direction. The idea of any direction, even backwards, is confirmed in the text of the wise King Alfonso X. The lines indicate a straight direction. The traces of these lines are well marked confirming the path of the pawns.



The possibility of a coronation has not been observed anywhere. This must be ruled out completely, as something like that and also the nature of the new piece ought to have been stated by the wise King Alfonso X. As in all games the wise King Alfonso X gives us sufficient rules of the games to practice them. Therefore he does not indicate what happens when the pawn reaches the end of the board. This is already implied in its motion: simply turning back. There is no need to mark the pawns that reach the end of the board. This was confirmed during the game between **José Antonio Garzón Roger** and **José Martínez Llopert**. Other possible approaches became very dark and stale to the game.

**The number of possible captures is multiple**, and there is not established limit. The capture step only requires that there is an empty square (as in draughts) behind the pawn taken. The capture can be simultaneously forward, sideward, and backward. This implies that in the live game one can capture even 3 or 4 pieces at once, in one move.



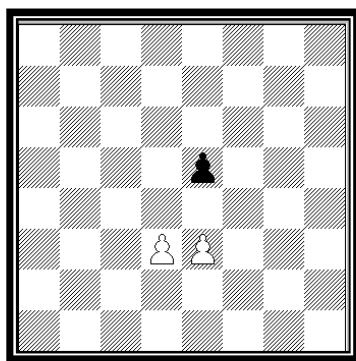
**Capturing is mandatory, but not absolutely obligatory.** Failure to capture gives an opponent the possibility to blow<sup>566</sup>

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<sup>566</sup> **COVARRUBIAS, SEBASTIAN DE** (1611). Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española. Madrid, 1611. Edición de Martín de Riquer de la Real

the pawn and make a move. Analyzing this game it is perceived that the huff (blowing) here makes more sense than in draughts. Interestingly one should analyze why in the draughts game players often evoked the practice of blowing, which is not part of its original rules. This may be evidence of a trace of its connection with alquerque 12.

**Basic final with option of triumph (shown below) in alquerque 12.**



**Draw on the board of 8x8**

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Academia Española, Editorial Alta Fulla, Barcelona, 1987. **CALVO, RICARDO (1987).** Alfonso X El Sabio. Libros del Ajedrez, Dados y Tablas. Patrimonio Nacional. Coedición de Vicent García Editores (Valencia) y Ediciones Poniente (Madrid), 1987, p. 145.

The limits of a 5x5 checkered board by moving alquerque 12 to it<sup>567</sup> allow victory in many cases, as Garzón found out with his friend Martínez Llopart. Therefore the wise King Alfonso X says that he who does not care for his pieces is defeated. **The small material advantage of a pawn can provide victory**<sup>568</sup>.

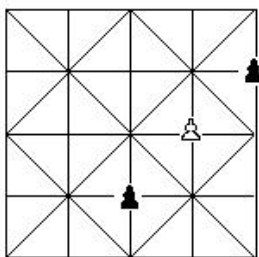
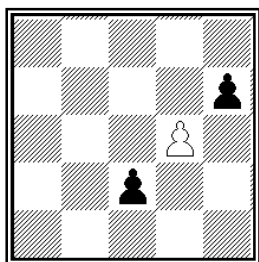
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<sup>567</sup> In making this transfer Garzón had a wonderful feeling, perhaps similar to what the pioneer teachers must have had, who made the same test many centuries ago. Since in alquerque developed on the lines the movement is limited only to the strokes of those same lines and there exist places where there is no diagonal movement (no lines on the alquerque board), apparently this would mean that there might be some confusion on the bicoloured board. **But the magic lines of alquerque, its quadrature, course, and cross, highlight the miracles of clarity, ounce transferred to the chessboard, as if it were a magical or divine play!** On a 5x5 chessboard the movement of the pieces will just be determined by the colour of the squares: if the right square is black and the pieces are occupying a black square, then such pieces have the complete alquerque movement (forward, diagonal, sideward, and backward), however if the pieces are occupying a white square, then the pieces will lose the diagonal movement. With this simple rule alquerque can be practiced on a chessboard. Surprising fact, and it also introduces new confirmatory elements, as discussed below, the evolutionary connection: alquerque-andarraya-draughts. On the chessboard alquerque takes a new complexion that was not appreciated in its lined representation: funny game where the power of the pieces depends on the colour of the square. In order to exhaust the endgame positions we have found a saving position for the weak side (endgame 4.) By transferring the game from the lined board of 5x5 to the chessboard the game lends itself to systematization and wins in analytical rigour.

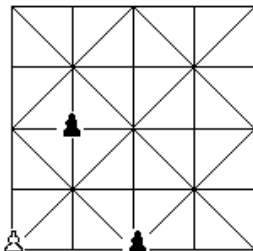
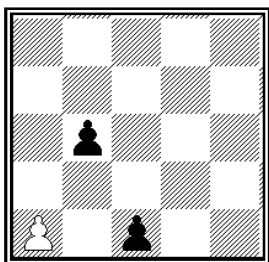
<sup>568</sup> But there was still a problem of the lack of diagonal movement on 12 squares of the board (all of the same colour) and most likely tests were done to extend the diagonal movement to all the squares of the board. Then the exact movements no longer depended on the colour of the squares, and so it was a genuine attribute of all pieces. The basic endgame of 2 to 1 is now an absolute win and it is enough to place a piece on the center square c3 (the holy or sacred line to the Romans, the main diagonal of the draughts game, and even existing in alquerque 3 or noughts and crosses). At some point the game switched to the 8x8 board, playing on the coloured squares with the exclusive diagonal move of the alquerque (also backward and therefore no coronation). The endgame of 2 to 1 now inevitably and easily wins, which

The matched finals (2 pawns against two or 3 against 3) are usually ending in a draw (so says the wise king: If both players know how to play, there is often a draw. We saw that it was necessary to practice to form an opinion on adequate. Alquerque 12 is a subtle and witty game that could be systematized (to a lesser extent than draughts).

### Endgame 1



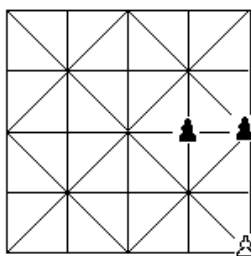
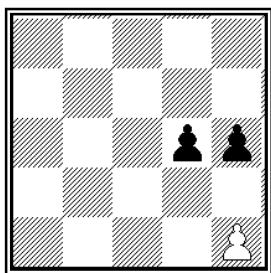
### Endgame 2



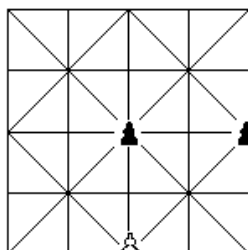
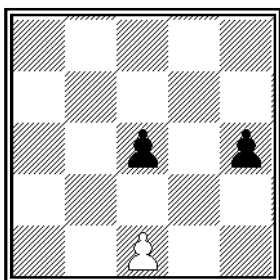

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characterizes the strategy of the whole game. Is this the possible evolutionary origin of andarraya?

### Endgame 3



### Endgame 4



### The Endgames 1 to 3

In all these positions (2 against 1) of the endgames 1 to 3 the weaker side must move and cannot avoid the immediate loss. Worthwhile is the endgame 1, where one can extract the idea of the strokes and lines of alquerque: victory is achieved by the absence of the diagonal movement in the while squares. The alignment of three in a row is surprising.

### The Endgame 4

An important position of 2 against 1 is that of the endgame 4, because this endgame can always force cases. However,

whoever's turn it be, the white will achieve a draw, as a meticulous analysis confirms.

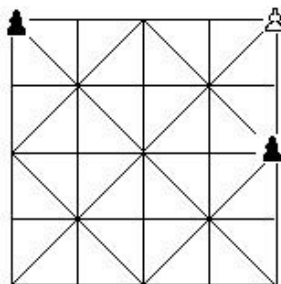
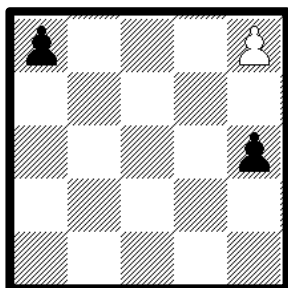
Analogically transferred to the chessboard<sup>569</sup> (8x8) one cannot win the endgame, because the stronger side is unable to carry the pieces to the black lines. Victory is achieved in the cases mentioned and similar positions. Thus with the help of strokes or board limits which did not allow double capture by the black opponent. Although most unlikely, the endgame 1 might arise in practice as winner on the chessboard of 8x8. Therefore one should avoid reaching the endgame 4 and the stronger side should think well before the latest simplification (endgame 3 against 2) and reach a winning endgame (see diagrams of the endgames 1-3).

These rules were tested and validated in these terms described in the meeting of José Antonio Garzón Roger with José Martínez Llopart on August 2 2003. It also became clear that he who opened the game had a worse game, and the first maneuvers are intended to level the game. For the sake of clarity and educational purposes only, sacrificing correction (if necessary), Garzón transcribes the first alquerque 12 party that he developed with fidelity to the standard rules as prescribed in the book of King Alfonso X the Wise (1283):

**1-d3-c3 b3xd3 2.e3xc3 b4-b3 3.b2xb4 b5xd3** (double capture in b4 and c3) **4.e2-e3 e4xe2 5.e1xc3** (double capture in e2 and d3) **d4xb2 6.a1xc3 a3xa1 7.b1-b2 a4-a3 8.b2-b3 c5-d4 9.c3xe3** (double capture in c4 and d4) **a3xe1** (double capture in b3 and d2) **10.d1-d2 e1xc3 11.c2xc4 d5-c5 12.c4-c3 c5-b4 13-e3-e2 b4xd2 14.c1xe3 a1-b2 15.e3-d2 b2-c1 16.e2-e3 (?) e5-e4 17.e3xe5 c1xe3**

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<sup>569</sup> Transferred to the chessboard, but with the same rules as alquerque 12.



Reaching a basic end (2 vs. 1) and a winning position as we now demonstrate.

**18.e5-d5 a5-b5 19.d5-e5 b5-b4! 20.e5-d5 e3-d3 21.d5-c5**  
 (21.d5-e5 b4-c5 and wins: see final 2) **21...b4-a5 22-c5-d5**  
 (22.c5-c4 a5-b5 and wins; Final 1) **a5-b5 23.d5-e5 b5-c5 24-**  
**e5-e4 d3-d4 winning (final 2)**

As we have seen before, Garzón let us know that King Alfonso X the Wise stated in 1283 that alquerque 12 had borrowed something from chess, backgammon, and dice. Sonja Mussel Golladay<sup>570</sup> made a translation of alquerque 12 into English as described in the book of Alfonso X the Wise. Here follows part of the translation that had to do with the precursors of alquerque 12:

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<sup>570</sup> **MUSSER GOLLADAY, Sonja** (2007) *Los libros de acedrex dados e tablas: historical, artistic, and metaphysical dimensions of Alfonso X's book of games*. A dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the Department of Spanish and Portuguese in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy With a Major in Spanish in the graduate college of the University of Arizona, pp. 623 and 624

[f. 91]

This is twelve men's morris which is played with all its pieces. Since we have spoken in the previous books of all the ways of playing chess, dice, and tables that those three wise men showed as examples to the king and then that intelligent men spread through play, we now want to tell you about other games that men later found that are not among those discussed above. However, they have similarities like mill takes some from chess, dice, and tables. There are others that take from chess and tables, but not from dice.

And we will begin first with twelve men's morris, because it is larger and played with more pieces. And we will tell you in how many ways it is played, with how many pieces, and why it has parts of chess, tables, and dice. It has a part of chess because it is played by intelligence and so is mill. The 48 pieces with which it is played resemble the pawns of chess. And it has a part of tables because of the tie which ties the game in the same way and because of the lines on which the pieces are played. And it has a part of dice due to luck, because as with the roll of the dice there is luck, so in mill players roll to decide who plays first.

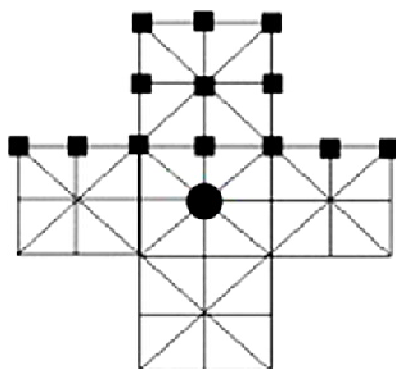
Garzón is one of the best chess historians in Spain and Pratesi in Italy. Garzón's findings are based on documents and Pratesi's on a hypothesis. It is quite interesting to see that both historians have a completely opposite opinion: Garzón claims that chess is older than alquerque 12 and draughts, while Pratesi claims that draughts (or alquerque 12 on the line board) is older than chess.



# 11 THE GAMES RELATED TO ALQUERQUE

## 11.1 Fox and geese

To idea of having a triangle at the top of the board may have come from the fox and geese game which was more popular in the northern countries and where squares were used. I also found the game in Italy (Volpe e Oche), in La Palma, and in Tenerife (Canary Islands)<sup>571</sup> where they call it ‘El zorro y las gallinas’. Antonio de Guevara was probably referring to this game when he called it ‘alquerque ingles’ (English alquerque) in his book<sup>572</sup>.



Fox and Geese

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<sup>571</sup> **ESPINEL CEJAS, José Manuel & GARCÍA-TALavera**  
**CASAÑAS, Francisco** (2009) Juegos guanches inéditos, p. 202

<sup>572</sup> **GUEVARA, Antonio de** (1539) Arte del Marear, y trabajos de la galera, 32 pages. Here I refer to the following book:  
**GUEVARA, Antonio de** (1539) Menosprecio de Corte y alabanza de aldea, aviso de privados y doctrina de Cortesanos, Arte de Marear y trabajos de la Galera, Madrid 1673, p. 265

This game has a long history and dates back to the Middle Ages in Europe: Iceland and England. In the case of Iceland the game is called Hala-tafl<sup>573</sup>, the Fox Game that is mentioned in the Icelandic “Grettis saga”. Dr. Finnur Jónsson<sup>574</sup> believed that this saga was written after 1300 A.D. by an anonymous priest who lived in the northern part of the island<sup>575</sup>.

Murray states<sup>576</sup>:

That fox and geese was played before the fifteenth century is evidenced by the occurrence of boards incised on the stone seats in the cloisters at Gloucester Cathedral. Here the component squares only contain the diagonals, though one diagram adds the missing lines to the central square. A complete board, scratched on a flat stone, was retrieved from the well in Norwich Castle, and the board of (see the above board) also occurs in the cloisters of San Paolo without the walls, Rome (Miss K.M.E. Murray). In its earliest form the game was played with thirteen geese arranged as in the drawing and the fox which was placed on any of the vacant points (but usually on the central point, this being considered its strongest position). All the pieces had the same move, one step along any marked line through the point occupied. The fox alone can take which it does by the short leap over a goose on an adjacent point in the direction of move to the point immediately beyond the goose, and a series of similar captures may be made in a turn of play. The geese win if they can hem in the fox so that it cannot move; the fox wins if he takes so many geese that too few are left to enclose him. With reasonable care the geese should always win.

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<sup>573</sup> **FISKE, Willard** (1905) Chess in Iceland and in Icelandic literature with historical notes on other table-games, Florence, p. 156

<sup>574</sup> **JÓNSSON, Finnur** (1920-1924) Den Oldnorske og Oldislandske Litteraturs Historie, 2nd ed. (Copenhagen, 1920-1924)

<sup>575</sup> **BELL, Robbie; BELL, Robert Charles; CORNELIUS, Michael** (1988) Board Games Around the World, Cambridge University Press, p. 76

<sup>576</sup> **MURRAY, Harold James Ruthven** (1952) A History of Board Games Other Than Chess, Oxford, pp. 102-103

## 11.2 Corner the rabbit

According to the manuscript of King Alfonso X of Castile the alquerque 12 board was also used for a hunt game called ‘cercar la liebre’ (Corner the rabbit). The translation into English is by Sonja Mussel Golladay<sup>577</sup>.

<p>El iuego que llaman de cercar la liebre quesse iuega otrossi en ell alquerque de doze.</p> <p>Este es otro iuego que se iuega otrossi en el alquerque de doze. &amp; llaman le el iuego de cercar la liebre. &amp; iuegasse desta guisa. toman un trebeio &amp; ponenlo en medio dell Alquerque. &amp; ponen doze dotra color en Az a sso el o onze o diez segunt ponen entressi so postura aquellos quel an de iogar.</p>	<p>The game called <i>corner the rabbit</i> that is also played on the twelve mill board.</p> <p>This is another game that is also played on the twelve millboard and they call it the game of corner the rabbit and it is played like this: they take one piece and place it in the center of the board and they put twelve of the other color in a troop formation beneath him, or eleven or ten as they agree upon their wager between them, those who are to play it.</p>
<p>Et iuegan lo desta guisa ha de andar primero aquell trebeio. &amp; los otros quantos quier que sean luego empos ell. Et aquel trebeio solo es atreguado quel no an de leuar mas an lo de encerrar en una casa; de guisa que no haya otra do yr.</p>	<p>And they play it in this way: that [rabbit] piece is to move first and the others, however many they are, then after him. And that single piece alone is safe from capture because they are not to remove but rather they are to trap him on one space so</p>

<sup>577</sup> **MUSSER GOLLADAY, Sonja** (2007) *Los libros de acedrex dados e tablas: historical, artistic, and metaphysical dimensions of Alfonso X's book of games*. A dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the Department of Spanish and Portuguese in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy With a Major in Spanish in the graduate college of the University of Arizona, p. 625

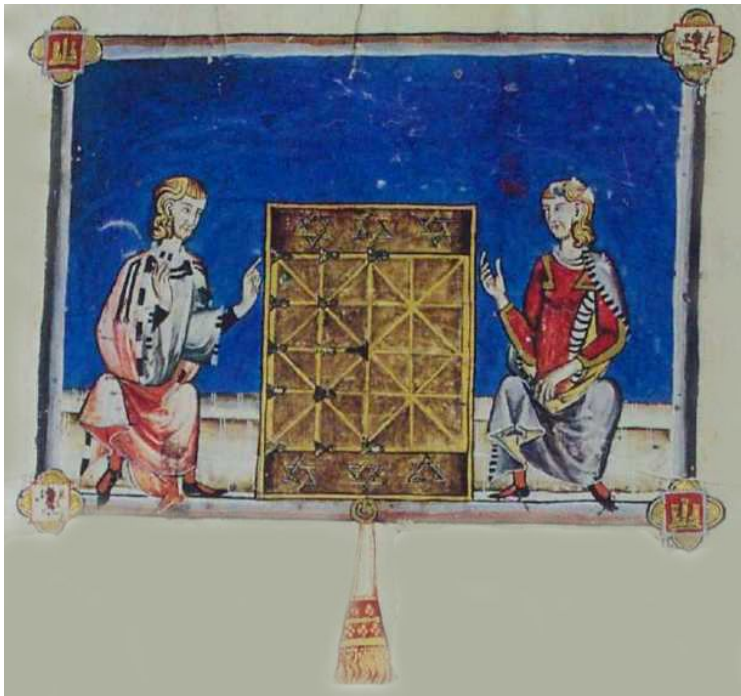
<p>Et el leuara delos otros quantos pudiere passando sobrellos; segunt dixiemos duna raya a otra en derecho. &amp; depues que aquel trebeio leuare uno delos otros; nol podran encerrar, pero si los trebeios fueren doze; por leuar uno fican onze. &amp; pueden lo leuar con ellos alli do quieren. esso mismo faran con diez silo bien sopieren iogar. mas si delos diez leuare uno; los nueue que fincan nunca lo pueden encerrar en ninguna manera. &amp; pierden por y el iuego.</p> <p>Et este es el departimiento deste iuego; &amp; esta es la figura dell Alquerque &amp; delos iuegos</p>	<p>that there is nowhere else to go.</p> <p>And he will capture as many of the others as he should be able to by jumping over them, as we said, from one line to another straight across. And once that piece has removed one of the others<sup>578</sup>, they will not be able to trap him. But if there were twelve pieces, by removing one eleven remain, and they can carry him with them wherever thy want. That same thing they will do with ten if they know how to play it well. But if of the ten one is removed, the nine that remain never can trap him in any way, and therefore they lose the game.</p> <p>And this is the explanation of this game and this is the diagram of the board and of the pieces<sup>579</sup>.</p>
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Murray<sup>580</sup> calls this game ‘catch the hare’, but I prefer Musser Golladay’s translation of ‘corner’, because the idea of the game is to corner the rabbit to a place from which he cannot move or escape.

<sup>578</sup> This is true if they began with ten pieces on that side.

<sup>579</sup> Here called *iuegos* instead of *trebeios* as before.

<sup>580</sup> **MURRAY, Harold James Ruthven.** (1952) *A History of Board Games Other Than Chess*, Oxford, p. 99



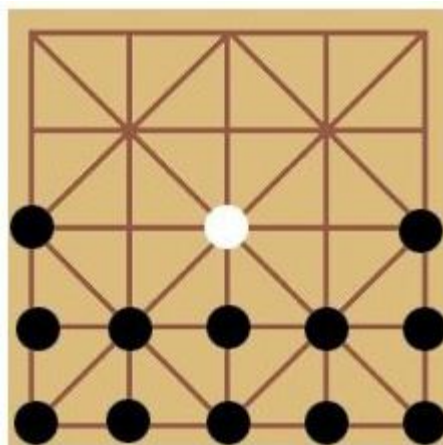
**Corner the rabbit (Cercar la liebre) – Manuscript of 1283.**

Murray gives us the following text<sup>581</sup>:

The men and the hare are arranged as in the diagram. Both hare and men have the same power of move, one step along a marked line in any directions, the point reached being empty. The power of move accordingly varies from point to point. The hare alone can take, and captures are made by the short multiple leap of the English draughts. The aim of the game is to enclose the hare so that it can neither move nor take. Alfonso says that this is possible even if the numbers of hunters is reduced to ten, and that a good player can give his adversary the odds of one or two men.

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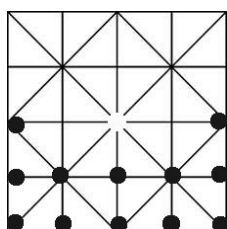
<sup>581</sup> **MURRAY, Harold James Ruthven.** (1952) A history of Board-games other than chess, Oxford, p. 99.



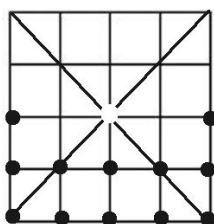
**Corner the rabbit (Cercar la liebre)**

However, the board used for this game changed by the time and in each change fewer diagonals were used.

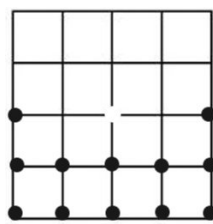
**Corner the rabbit, with progressive loss of diagonals**



**Board 1**



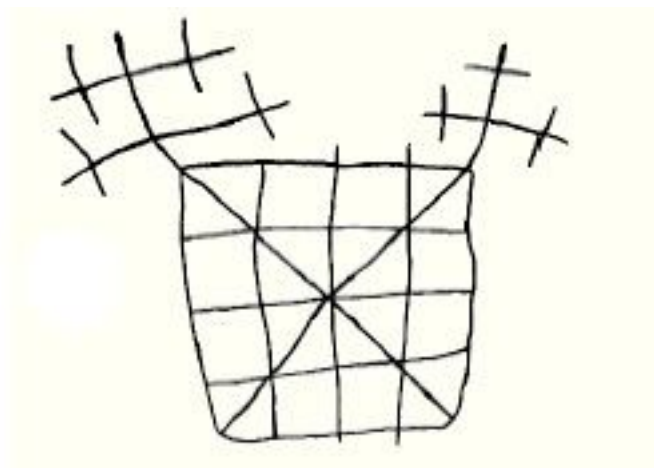
**Board 2**



**Board 3**

Board 1 is the normal alquerque board found all over Spain and all the Canary Islands. Board 2 was found in the old Muslim town of Siyasa that belongs to Cieza in the province of Murcia (Spain) and this board must be from earlier than 1266. It was also found in Tenerife (Canary Islands). It was used for the

Mexican game of Coyote & Chickens (pon chochotl)<sup>582</sup>. A similar board was found in the church of Nuestra Señora de Carmen in Nava de Santullán (Spain)<sup>583</sup>. Archaeologists were not able to discover the name of this game, but I think that it is nothing else than ‘corner the rabbit’ (cercar la liebre) with a variant, seeing the two extending diagonals.



**Drawing of Corner the rabbit in Nava de Santullán**

Board 3 was found in Spain and only in Fuerteventura (Canary Islands)<sup>584</sup>. It was used by the Tigua of New Mexico for Indian and Jack-rabbits.

<sup>582</sup> **CULIN, Stewart** (1907) Games of the North American Indians, p. 794

<sup>583</sup> **FERNÁNDEZ IBÁÑEZ, Carmelo & LAMALFA DIAZ, Carlos** (2005) Manifestaciones rupestres de época histórica en el entorno de la cabecera del Ebro. In: Munibe (Antropología-Arkeological) 57, pp. 257-267. Quotation at page 262

<sup>584</sup> **ESPINEL CEJAS, José Manuel & GARCÍA-TALAVERA CASAÑAS, Francisco** (2009). Juegos guanches inéditos, p. 202.

### 11.3 Taptana

A taptana board was found at Chinchero, Peru, near the capital Cuzco, etched onto a preHispanic wall. This board has been used as an argument that Komikan or Tapanan is a preHispanic or preColumbian indigenous game of South America.

However, the opening position in the Taptana game is similar to the Spanish game of 'Catch the hare' (cercar la liebre). The only difference lies in the expanded alquerque board with one triangle. This can have two causes. The additional triangle was introduced by the Spanish or Italian priests known for their missionary actions in China and Japan in the 16<sup>th</sup> century or the board was enlarged by the Chinese or Japanese seamen who established themselves in Peru.

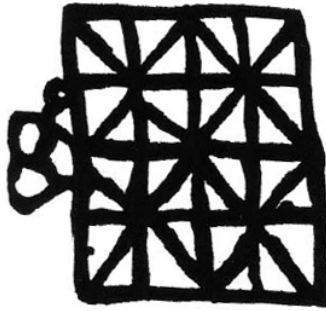
However, I do not think that this type of alquerque 12 board is of preHispanic origin. On the other hand we must remember that the Jesuits around 1582 initiated missionary work in China. Years later we see Chinese Jesuits in Europe, for example Michael Shen Fu-Tsung, who taught Chinese to Thomas Hyde<sup>585</sup>. Logically speaking, in this way other Chinese Jesuits could have travelled to Peru. So it is quite important to firstly know the age of the alquerque boards.

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<sup>585</sup> **BALLASTER, Rosalind** (2010) *Fables of the East: selected tales*, 1662-1785. Oxford University Press Inc., New York, p. 262

**MAVERICK, Lewis A.** (1952) Review of *A Cycle of Cathay: The Chinese Vogue in England During the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, by William W. Appleton. In: *The Far Eastern Quarterly*, Vol. 11, No. 2 (Feb., 1952), pp. 246-247



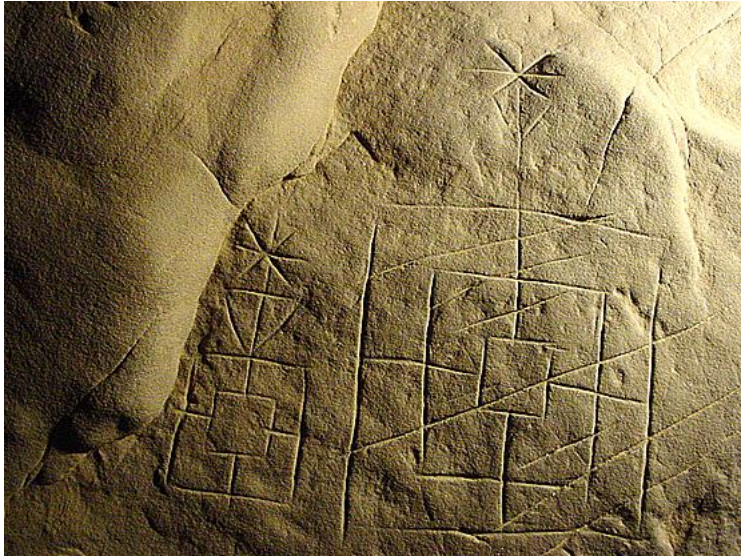


**Taptana board etched onto a preHispanic wall at Chinchero  
Expanded Alquerque 12 drawing on the church at Chinchero  
J. Alcina Franch 1980**

### **11.3.1 The triangle in the game of Taptana**

Now knowing more about the game board used for the fox and gees game it is easier to understand that the game board for the game of Taptana in Peru had a triangle. Thus the normal alquerque 12 board was enlarged with a triangle. Maybe some of the seamen who stayed at Peru came from Italy or there were missionaries from Rome. All that is difficult to investigate now, but there are many reasons to believe that this was a new game for the Indians.

It is quite possible that the alquerque 12 game was already used in Spain with a triangle, but we do not have written proofs of this. The archaeological findings do not prove this fact either. However, the triangle was known in Europe in one alquerque board game and I found the proof in France, where in the Middle Ages an alquerque 9 game was played with a triangle. For that we have to go to a small village in the north of France of 734 inhabitants called Larchant.



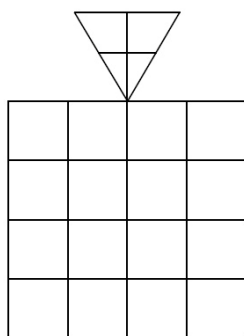
**Alquerque 9 board with a triangle**

**Photo: Courtesy of © Jean-Pierre et Marie-Claude Auffret**

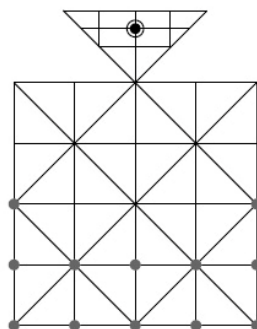
In this small village the Grotte à la Peinture is one of the most remarkable shelters. Besides the classical engravings carved into the sandstone during the Mesolithic (9-10,000 years) one finds, traces of paint that date from the Upper Paleolithic (between 10 and 35,000 years) age. Among the carvings that adorn this classic free [classic free what? Something's missing here!] - remember that the men who carved the rock did not yet know metals - in these shelters people found grooves, holes, and the alquerque 9 drawing, mysterious symbols quite common in this type of shelter and these drawings could go back to the early Middle Ages.

## 11.4 The solitario game

Taptana or Komikan has several variants, because there are different triangular patterned board designs attached to the alquerque board. The standard triangular board (with one horizontal line across the breadth of the triangle and one vertical line along the length of the triangle) described by Stewart Culin<sup>586</sup> in 1898 (as Solitario) is only one of them.



**Solitario (Culin, 1898)**



**Komikan (Matus Zapata, 1919)**

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<sup>586</sup> **CULIN, Stewart** (1898) Chess and playing cards. Washington, p. 876; reprint New York, 1975, 1986

## 11.5 The Komikan game

In 1918-19 Leotardo Matus Zapata<sup>587</sup> described a Komikan board with a triangular board with two horizontal lines across its breadth, a single vertical line along its length, and two shorter vertical lines where the shorter horizontal line (the one closest to the alquerque board) intersects with the two sides<sup>588</sup> of the triangle.

El sacerdote Juan Ignacio Molina (1740-1829)<sup>589</sup> let us know that the Araucanins knew the Komikan game and Manquilef<sup>590</sup> informed that the Komikan game was still played in the early 20th century. Komikan is the game of the lion and the sheep in Chile. For up-to-date information on the situation of this boardgame it is necessary to consult the great study of Thierry Depaulis.



**Juan Ignacio Molina, the first Scientist of Chile**

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<sup>587</sup> **MÁTUS ZAPATA, Leotardo** (1918-1919) Juegos i ejercicios de los antiguos araucanos. In: Boletín del Museo nacional de Chile, XI: 162-197

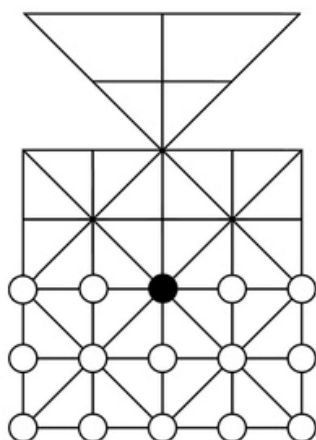
<sup>588</sup> **DEPAULIS, Thierry** (1998) Inca Dice and Board Games. In: Boardgamestudies, issue 1, pp. 26-49

<sup>589</sup> **MOLINA, Juan Ignacio** (1787) Saggio sulla historia civile de Chili. Bologna; Spanish transl.: Compendio de la historia geográfica, natural y civil del reino de Chile, 1788-1795

<sup>590</sup> **MANQUILEF, Manuel** (1914) Comentarios del pueblo araucano. II. La gimnasia nacional (juegos, ejercicios y bailes). In: Revista de Folklore chileno, IV, 3-5: 75-219

## 11.6 The Adugo game

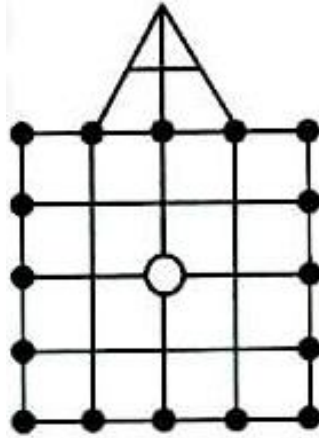
In Brasil there exists a similar tiger game known as Adugo that is played by 1 Jaguar and 14 dogs. The rules are the same as in Taptana (Peru) or Komikan (Chile, Argentine). Adugo is played in Brasil by the Bororo tribe.



**Adugo, Brasil**

## 11.7 Shap Luk Kon Tseung Kwan

Where did the Incas obtain the expanded alquerque board from? This seems to be a mystery to this day, because according to Murray an expanded alquerque board with one triangle was only known in Asia, namely in China and Japan. The game in China that consists of 16 soldiers and 1 general is known there under the name of Shap luk kon tseung kwan. Murray describes the game as follows<sup>591</sup>:



Shap luk kon tseung kwan - China (Culin)<sup>592</sup>

One player has sixteen soldiers and the other a general, placed as in the figure. All the pieces have the same move, one step along any marked line of the board, but the general alone can enter the triangle, and if he is confined to the triangle, he loses.

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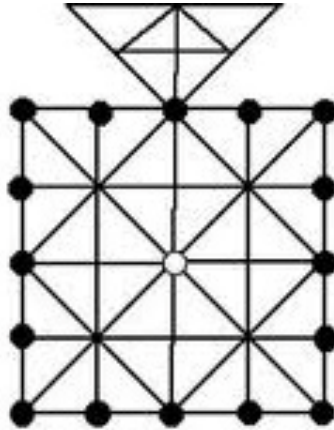
<sup>591</sup> **MURRAY, Harold James Ruthven** (1952) *A History of Board Games Other Than Chess*, Oxford, pp. 100-101

<sup>592</sup> **CULIN, Stewart** (1898). *Chess and playing cards*. Washington, p. 874; reprint New York, 1975, 1986.

Both general and soldiers can capture, but in different ways. The general takes by intervention by occupying the point immediately between two soldiers on the same marked line, when he takes both; the soldiers by interception by occupying the points immediately on both sides of the general, both soldiers and general being on the same marked line. Thus, in the position diagrammed, if the soldiers play first and move e2-d2, the general may reply c3-b2, taking the soldiers on a3 and c1 by intervention; but now the soldiers may move d2-c2 and take the general by interception. Since the interception capture is more primitive than the leap capture in war-games, this may be an older type of hunt-game than the others.

## 11.8 Juroku Musahi

Another game known in Japan as Juroku musahi also has 16 soldiers and 1 general. Murray describes the game as follows<sup>593</sup>:



**Juroku musashi - Japan (Culin)<sup>594</sup>**

One player has a general (taisho) and the other sixteen soldiers (musashi) which are arranged as in the diagram. All the pieces have the same move, one step along a marked line through the point on which the piece stands, but the general alone can enter the triangle, and if he is confined to it, he loses. The general alone can capture, and he does so by the short leap of the draughtsman. The general wins if he takes all the soldiers, and

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<sup>593</sup> **MURRAY, Harold James Ruthven.** (1952) A history of Board-games other than chess, Oxford, p. 101.

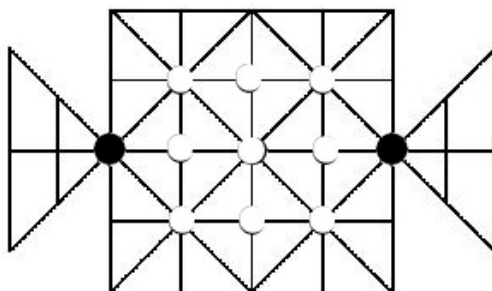
<sup>594</sup> **CULIN, Stewart** (1898). Chess and playing cards. Washington, p. 873; reprint New York, 1975, 1986.



the soldiers win if they reduce the general to immobility or confine him to the triangle.

## 11.9 Rimau Rimau

Another expanded alquerque board with two triangles (mountains) is used for the tiger game in Malaya<sup>595</sup> known as Rimau Rimau. There is a version with 22 and 24 pieces. I only describe here the version with 24 pieces called orange-orange (men).



**Rimau Rimau**

In the opening position two tigers are placed at the vertex of the two mountains that connects to the alquerque board. Nine men are initially placed on the nine intersection points of the central square of the alquerque board. Throughout the game pieces are always situated on the intersection points and move along the marked lines between them. The tiger player moves first and

<sup>595</sup> **MURRAY, Harold James Ruthven** (1952) A History of Board Games Other Than Chess, Oxford, pp. 108-110

**PLITSCHKE, K** (1893) Kurze Mittheilung über zwei Malayische Spiele. In: Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie, III

removes any 3 men from the board. Then the tiger player may also pick up one of his tigers, and reallocate it to any empty point on the board, or the tigers can simply remain where they are. The man player moves next, and must drop his remaining 15 pieces on any vacant intersection point on the board one piece per turn before he can begin to move any of them. This will take 15 turns. Players alternate their turns. The tigers can move and capture from the beginning.

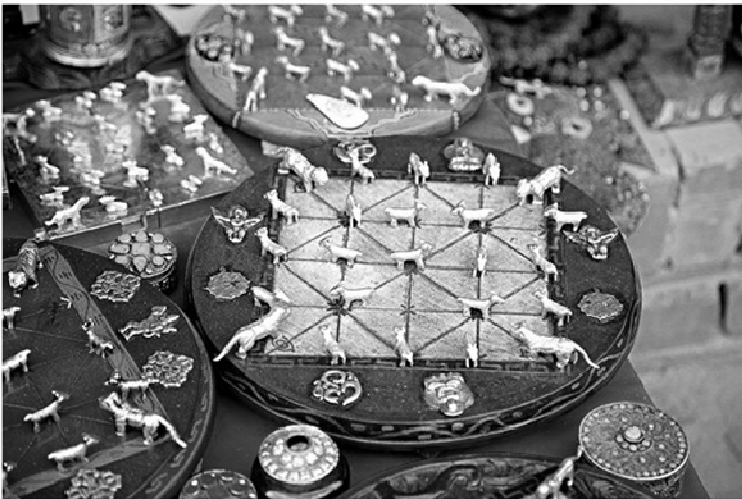
After the 15 men have been dropped, the men can begin to move. Only one man may be moved in a turn. A man moves in any available direction along a marked line onto a vacant point. Similarly, only one tiger may be moved in a turn. A tiger moves (in any available direction) along a marked line onto a vacant adjacent intersection point. Alternatively a tiger can capture. Men cannot capture. Tigers can capture an odd number of men (e.g. 1, 3, 5, or 7). The tiger must be adjacent to the man or line of men, and leap over them onto a vacant intersection point immediately beyond. Jumped pieces are removed from the board. The tiger must leap over them in a straight line that follows the pattern on the board. If more than one man is captured in the leap, the men must be have been lined up next to each other with no vacant points between them. Once a man or a line of men is leaped over and captured, the tiger can no longer capture further or move. Captures are not compulsory. If the men are reduced to 10 or 11 pieces, the men will usually resign as there are not enough of them to effectively immobilize the two tigers.

The ability of the two tigers to capture more than one man might give a tremendous advantage to the tigers, and therefore it is preferable that the tigers be allowed to capture only one man per turn.

## 11.10 Bagh Chal

A very popular game in Nepal is Bagh Chal played with 4 tigers and 20 goats on the ancient alquerque 12 board. The rules of this game are as follows:

At the start of the game all four tigers are placed on the four corners of the grid, facing the center. All goats start off the board. The pieces must be put at the intersections of the board lines and moves follow these lines. The player controlling the goats moves first by placing a goat on a free intersection on the board. Then it is the tigers' turn. One tiger is then moved to an adjacent position along the lines that indicate the valid moves. Moves are alternate between players. Tigers capture goats by jumping over them to an adjacent free position. Goats cannot move until all 20 have been put on the board.



**Bagh Chal, the Nepali Tigers Game, on the alquerque-12 board**

The tigers must move according to these rules:

1. They can start capturing goats any moment after the match has started
2. They can capture only one goat at a time
3. They can jump over a goat in any direction, but it must be to an adjacent intersection following any of the lines drawn on the board
4. A tiger cannot jump over another tiger

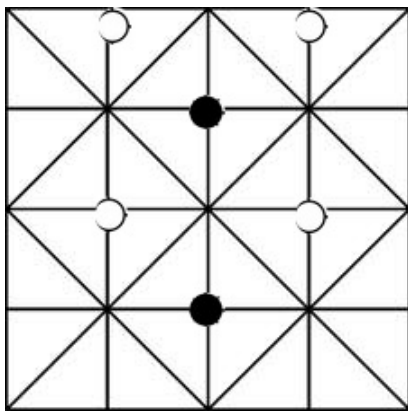
The goats must move according to these rules:

1. They must leave the board when captured
2. They cannot jump over the tigers or other goats
3. They can only move after all 20 have been put on the board

The tigers win once they have captured five goats. Goats try to avoid being captured (jumped over) and they win by blocking the tigers' moves till the tigers are unable to move. Sometimes the game can fall into a repetitive cycle of positions; especially the goats may use this resort to defend themselves from being captured. In order to avoid this kind of situation, an additional rule has been established: when all the goats have been placed, it is not allowed to perform any move that causes any situation of the pieces that has been already repeated during the same game.

## 11.11 Bagh Bandi

There is a variety of this game known under the name of Bagh Bandi, but the difference between Bagh Chal and Bagh Bandi lies mainly in the opening position of the game.



**Bagh bandi**

One player is the tiger; the other are the goats. The tiger has two game pieces (stones), while the goats have 20 game pieces. The goat game pieces are stacked in four piles of five stones each on the center points of the four quadrants. The tiger stones are placed between them with one on the exact middle intersection and the second on the middle of the end line in front of the person playing as tiger. The object is for the tiger to capture all the goats and for the goats to immobilize the tiger by moving stones to adjacent intersections. The tiger player may move one tiger stone to an adjacent cell (adjacency is given by board lines) or may capture a goat by jumping a stack of goats (just capturing the top goat) and landing on the next cell which must be empty. Jumps may be multiple, but a tiger cannot jump into the previous cell (so a tiger cannot jump back and forth to

capture one stack of goats). The goat player may take the top goat of a stack and place it on an adjacent empty cell or move a single goat to an adjacent empty cell. The goats start the game. The tiger wins if all the goats are captured, and the goat wins if both tigers are immobilized<sup>596</sup>.

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<sup>596</sup> **LEIBS, Andrew** (2004). *Sports and Games of the Renaissance*, London, pp. 46-47.

## **11.12        The lion and sheep game**

There is another game that can be played on the alquerque 12 board and the Incas gave it the names Taptana, Komina, Comina, Cumi, Puma, or Inca Chess.

The game may also be known in Peru as Kukuli. Komikan is a tiger hunt game since it uses an expanded alquerque board. Like all hunt games, there are two unequal forces at play. In Komikan one player has only a single piece (usually called a "puma" or "jaguar"), or komikelu or leon (Spanish for lion), which can move one space at a time or capture the other player's pieces by hopping over them. The other player has twelve pieces (usually called "sheep"), or perros or perritos (Spanish for "dogs" and "doggies") that can only move one space at a time, but not capture, and attempts only to surround and immobilize the puma or jaguar. Pieces must move and/or capture following the pattern on the board.

## **11.13        The game of the wolves**

Thanks to the generous collaboration of the archaeologist Mr. José María Cantarero Quesada we have a description of another game played on the alquerque 12 board in his town of Baños de la Encina, in the province of Jaén.

In this place they still play the game of the wolves (derived from 'cercar de la liebre'). This game is played on the board of alquerque 12, but the rules vary. In alquerque 12 each player has twelve pawns of a different colour. In the game of wolves one player has two major pieces - wolves, and another player

twenty minor pieces - sheep. In this game the sheep win their piece when they arrive at one of the two intersections where the wolves were initially placed. After reaching this intersection the piece is taken away from the board and comes into the possession of the player who moves the pieces of the sheep. The move of the sheep is forward and sideward, but never backwards.



**The game of the wolves**  
**Photo: Courtesy of José María Canterero Quesada**

Of course, the arrangement of the pieces on the board has no relation to each other. The player who moves the sheep can eliminate a wolf from the game, but it does not assign points to the player. For that purpose it is necessary to block the wolf in three moves. In the previous photo we see that the wolf in the corner cannot move his piece, but the sheep must realize the blocking in three moves. If we suppose that in the diagram the



sheep have waited only two moves and after waiting three moves they can capture the wolf, it is clear that in the diagram the other wolf will capture the piece on square 13. So the wolf will jump over the piece on 13 and put himself on square 7, thus the piece on 13 now belongs to the player who moves the wolves.



**Blocking of the wolf**  
**Photo: Courtesy of José María Canterero Quesada**

The sheep cannot jump over the wolf and cannot capture it by jumping like they can in draughts. The only way to capture a wolf is by means of blocking, as explained before.

The wolves capture the sheep as a flying king<sup>597</sup>, as in the Spanish draughts. Supposing that in the previous diagram the wolf is in the corner on square 25 and that there is a sheep on square 13 and no sheep on square 1, the wolf must capture with 25 x 7. He has to stop at the square immediately behind the captured piece. It cannot capture 25 x 1, thus to the unoccupied square on 1. This is forbidden in the game. The leap of the wolf is big, but the capture of the sheep by the wolf is immediately after the piece captured, even in case when the wolf can capture 2 or more pieces. The wolf is obliged to capture the sheep. If the wolf fails to capture one or more sheep, his opponent ( the sheep player) as penalty may remove the piece(s) that should have captured form the board. This is called the 'huff' or 'blow', and does not constitute a move. After blowing the sheep player may make a move.

In the following diagram we see that the sheep cannot move the sheep on square 16 to 21, because square 21 is occupied by a wolf. The sheep player is obliged to move the sheep on square 20 to 25, since square 25 is unoccupied. Of course, the sheep can also play 6 to 11, but in such case the wolf will huff / blow the sheep on 20 and make any other desired move. When the sheep have a piece near squares 21 and 25, they are obliged to move their piece to one of these squares. If not, the wolf will blow their piece.

In alquerque 12 the winner is he who leaves the enemy without pawns. In the game of wolves, if the wolf wants to win the game, it has to eat more than eight pawns and more than twelve sheep. A tie is achieved with eight against twelve sheep.

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<sup>597</sup> In Spanish draughts kings can move as far as they want along unblocked diagonals. This move can end by a capture in the usual way, jumping over one or more opposing pieces to an adjacent unoccupied square.



**Forced capturing of a sheep**  
**Photo: Courtesy of José María Canterero Quesada**

Today people think that apart from draughts alquerque 12 is also a precursor or ancestor of the Malagasy Fanorona, of the Mozambique Borboleta, of the Mauritanian Strand, of the Moroccan Felli, or of the North African Fetach. It shows similarities with the snakes fight (Luta de Serpentes), Zuni/Navajo Indian tribes, and Peralicatuma game of the American Indians.

## 11.14 Five in a row

The Romans played a wide variety of board games. *Calculi* is most like the Roman game, Five in a Row. An alquerque 12 drawing might have been used for such purpose. The Romans referred to this game as *ludus calculorum*. However, the references are general and unclear<sup>598</sup>. Some historians and archeologists have referred to this game as Roma Draughts. It is better to take into account what R.C. Bell<sup>599</sup> says:

There is some doubt if this game was ever played, or if it was an invention of J. Gelli, who described it in his *Come posso divertirmi?* (Milan,1900). According to this author the game was played on the alquerque board, and each player had five men which were entered on the points, one at a time in alternate turns of play. When all were positioned, they acquired the power of moving one step along any marked line to a contiguous point. The aim was to align five men on a marked line.

In Catalonia five in a row is known by the term of cinc en ratlla<sup>600</sup>. However, I also found the term Mulinello Quadrupio. Did the authors Beltrán de Heredia Bercero and Miró I Alaix obtain the idea of five on a line from the book of J. Gelli? The term cinc en ratlla for a game with pieces played on the alquerque 12 board is new to me, since I could not find it in old books.

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<sup>598</sup> **TORRE MARTÍN-ROMO, Rodrigo de la** (1985) Tradición de algunos juegos de fichas en os signos lapidarios. In: Revista de Folklore, Volume 05a, Number 49, pp. 3-9

<sup>599</sup> **BELL, Robert Charles** (1979) Board and Table games from many civilizations, p. 57

<sup>600</sup> **BELTRAN DE HEREDIA BERCERO, Julia & MIRÓ I ALAIX, Núria** (2000) Jugar a la Barcelona dels segles XVI-XVIII: objectes de joc y joquines trobats a les excavacions de la ciutat, pp. 213-216

It is therefore quite clear that different games could be played on the alquerque 12 board in the past. Therefore it is not easy to establish which game was played on the alquerque 12 board in the ancient time.

One thing is clear: people in Spain played a lot of games. Not only in the XV and XVI century, but even much earlier, in the XIII century, as can still be seen in the cathedral of Salamanca<sup>601</sup>.



**Cloister of the cathedral of Salamanca. Capital of the meridional gallery.  
Chess players?**

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<sup>601</sup> **HERNANDO GARRIDO, José Luis** (1998 – 1999) La escultura románica en el claustro de la catedral de Salamanca. In: *Locvs amcens* 4, pp. 59 -75. The image of the (chess ?) players can be found on p. 70

## 11.15 Ludus Rebellionis D

In the Perugian Manuscript written by the Jew Francesch Vicent<sup>602</sup> there is a board position known as the Ludus Rebellionis D (folio 165r). The “D” may refer to the new movement of the Queen, thus the new powerful Dama. This game apparently has some similarities with the game of the wolves, where the movement of the Dama is like a flying King.

	D				v	R <sub>v</sub>
						v
	P		P		P	P
P		P		P		P
	P		P		P	P
P		P		P		P

**Ludus Rebellionis D**  
**Manuscript of Cesena (1504) and Perugia, (1504-1506)**

However, there is a difference. Where in the game of wolves there are two wolves with the same power, in Ludus Rebellionis we do not see two wolves, but one King and one flying Queen or Dama. The last mentioned piece corresponds to the new powerful move of the Dama. In this game we also have four rows of sheep (pions) as in the game of wolves, but in this case

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<sup>602</sup> **GARZÓN ROGER, José Antonio** (2005) The return of Francesch Vicent. The history of the Birth and Expansion of Modern Chess, pp. 436-440

the rows have only 4 pieces (total 16 pieces) and not five as in the game of wolves that has a total of 20 pieces. There are marks similar to the letter v on squares f8, h8, and h6, of which the purpose is unknown. This checkerboard variant is also largely discussed by Parlett<sup>603</sup>.

The creator of this new game with the powerful Dama, the Valencian Francesch Vicent, left the Kingdom of Valencia in 1501. This can be concluded with the fact that still in 1500 Francesch Vicent had the important position of Justice in Segorbe<sup>604</sup>, his hometown. Just in January of 1500 the famous Valencian synagogue was discovered that had been run secretly by the Vives family. Precisely in 1501 the tribunal decided to arrest those suspected of attending services and therefore many Jews tried to escape or hid<sup>605</sup>. There was again persecution against the Jews and it was better for them to seek safer places. This means that in all likelihood Francesch Vicent did not hold this position in 1501 for the whole year, but possibly for some time in 1501, and that he was in Roma in December 1501 to present the wedding of Lucrezia Borgia and Alfonso D'Este. This very fact fits in perfectly with his presence in Ferrara, Italy, from 1502, when Lucrezia Borgia settled there, because José Antonio Garzón Roger esteems that the Manuscript of Cesena is from around 1502. The brother of Lucrezia Borgia, Cesare lived in the city of Cesena for some years and it is well documented that Cesare Borgia made continuous visits to his sister Lucrezia during the period 1502 – 1503 from Cesena,

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<sup>603</sup> **PARLETT, D.** (1999) *The Oxford History of Board Games*. New York, N.Y.: Oxford University Press, pp. 189-190

<sup>604</sup> **GARZÓN ROGER, José Antonio** (2005) *The return of Franchesch Vicent. The history of the Birth and Expansion of Modern Chess*, pp. 436-437

<sup>605</sup> AHN, Inquisition, March 29, 1553, lib. 960, ffs. 6-6v. Cited by **HALICZER, Stephen** (1990) *Inquisition and Society in the Kingdom of Valencia, 1478-1834*, p. 197

which according to Garzón is the most reasonable timing for Cesena's Manuscript<sup>606</sup>. This manuscript is more or less the same as the Perugia Manuscript and both manuscripts are fully discussed in the important work of José Antonio Garzón of 2005.



**Malatestiana Library at Cesena**

The Cesena Manuscript was discovered by Franco Pratesi<sup>607</sup> in the Malatestiana Library (Biblioteca Malatestiana) in Cesena. This was the first European civic library and it dates back to 1452. The manuscript of Cesena of 356 pages has a lot of similarities with the Perugia Manuscript. The Codex in the register of the library is recorded as *Ludi varii, idest Ludus*

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<sup>606</sup> **GARZÓN ROGER, José Antonio** (2005) The return of Franchesch Vicent. The history of the Birth and Expansion of Modern Chess, pp. 436-440

<sup>607</sup> **PRATESI, Franco** (1996) Il manoscritto scacchistico di Cesena. Venezia **PRATESI, Franco** (1996) Il Manoscritto Scacchistico di Cesena. In: Scacchi e Scienze Aplicate. Supplement to issue 2, fascicle 16, 16 pages, Venice.

**PRATESI, F.** (1996). Misterioso, ma oggi un po' meno. In: Informazione Scacchi, 4. Bergamo, pp. 163-166

**PRATESI, Franco** (1996) Damasport, Number 3, p. 14



rebellionis. Ludus subtilitatis primorum. Partiti de 2 tracti. Ludus ad capiendum ovines.

In the latest case it is clear that the game refers to a game on the chessboard in which sheep are taken; thus the game of the wolves and sheep. Many still empty diagrams in the manuscript let us think of a sudden interruption of the work by Francesch Vicent<sup>608</sup>.



**Malatestiana Library at Cesena**  
**Photo: Courtesy of © Sergio Buzzini**

It is important to know that the Jewish people of the Kingdom of Valencia had good contact with Italy. The role, after the edict of expulsion in 1492, by the converted Jewish communities and families that left the Crown of Aragon, Zaragoza, and Gerona,

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<sup>608</sup> **SANVITO, Alessandro** (2002) Das Rätsel des Kelten-Spiels. In: Board Game Studies, Number 5, pp. 9-24. Citation at p. 20

but also Valencia<sup>609</sup> in relationship to the silk business in Italy is clear. The Jews continued their businesses there and were found even in Perugia<sup>610</sup> and Arezzo. Many prominent Valencian families lived in Italy during these years and we will give an example of social promotion strategies of the Lopiç family. Joan and Jeromi Lopiç, children of the notary Lopiç, of 16 and 15 years respectively, embarked in 1470 on the beach of Grao of Valencia, in a Venetian galley that would lead them to Italy. Jerome studied law in Bologna until the summer of 1478. Joan moved from Bologna to Rome around 1474 with a bachelor's degree in theology in his possession in order to be at the service of Cardinal Rodrigo de Borja. Some years later we see Joan's access to the Bishops of Perugia<sup>611</sup> in 1493.

The fact that Perugia had a Spanish Bishop is important, because this would facilitate Francesch Vicent to enter into his service. However, Joan Lopiç (Juan López) was only Bishop in Perugia between 29 December 1492 and 15 October 1498. However, there was again a Spanish Bishop between 4 August

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<sup>609</sup> **KAMEN, HENRY** (1988) The mediterranean and the Expulsion of Spanish Jews in 1492. *Past & Present*, 119, Pp. 35 – 37. Cited by **TONIOLO, ALBERTA** (1993). Los mercados de la seda: Papel y herencia de los sefardíes en Bolonia en la Edad Moderna. *Revista d'Història Medieval*. Number 4, p. 39

<sup>610</sup> **MELIS, F.** (1989) *Industria e commercio nella Toscana medievale*. Firenze, pp. 183 – 184.

**TOAFF, A.** (1989). Il vino e la carne. Una comunità ebraica nel Medioevo, Bologna, p. 243

Cited by **TONIOLO, ALBERTA** (1993) Los mercados de la seda: Papel y herencia de los sefardíes en Bolonia en la Edad Moderna. *Revista d'Història Medieval*. Number 4, p. 39 – 40

<sup>611</sup> **CRUSELLAS, JOSÉ M.** Valencianos en la universidad de Bolonia. Rentabilización social de los estudios superiores a finales del siglo XV, p. 389. En: Lluís de Santángel i el seu temps. *Congrés Internacional*. Valencia 5 al 8 de octubre de 1987

1503 and 29 March 1506 by the name of Francisco de Remolins.



**Archdiocese of Perugia**  
**Photo: Courtesy of G. Dall'Orto**



**Augusta Library of Perugia**  
**Photo: [www.maranatha-it.blogspot.com](http://www.maranatha-it.blogspot.com)**

Thereafter there were no more Spanish Bishops in Perugia in that period. Knowing that Francesch Vicent was in service as Chessmaster of Lucrezia Borgia in 1506, as the chess historian Alessandro Sanvito discovered<sup>612</sup>, it is clear that the Manuscript of Perugia might have been written between 1504 and 1506.



**From left to right: Ulrich Schädler, Alessandro Sanvito, Joseph Alió.  
(Symposium “Valencia, Cuna del Ajedrez Moderno, 2009).  
Photo: Courtesy of © Josep Alió**

Today this manuscript of 196 pages is preserved in the Augusta Library of Perugia<sup>613</sup> under the signature MS 775-L.27. In the manuscripts of Cesena (1502) as well as in the Manuscript of

<sup>612</sup> **SANVITO, Alessandro (1999)** Il maestro di scacchi spagnola di Lucezia Borgia. In: L'Italia Scacchistica, issue 1131, December 1999, pp. 392 and 393

<sup>613</sup> **SANVITO, Alessandro (2002)** Das Rätsel des Kelten-Spiels. In: Board Game Studies, Number 5, pp. 9-24. Citation at p. 19

Perugia<sup>614</sup> (1503 - 1506) there is a draughts diagram under the name of Ludus dominarum and three diagrams of Ludus rebellionis. With these positions Francesch Vicent resulted to be a real innovator of new games. The Ludus dominarum is called Marro de Punta in the world's first printed book about draughts printed in Valencia<sup>615</sup>.

P	D	P		P	v	P	R <sub>v</sub>
	P		P		P		P
P		P		P		P	v
	P		P		P		P
	P		P		P		P
P		P		P		P	v
	P		P		P		P
P	D	P		P	v	P	R <sub>v</sub>

**Ludus Rebellionis C.**  
**Manuscript of Cesena (1502) and Perugia, (1504-1506)**

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<sup>614</sup> More information about the manuscript of Perugia can be obtained from the following authors:

**RONCETTI, M.** (1977) Scacchi storici. Il "códice erugino". In: La Nazione, ediz. Dell'Umbria, 13-7-1977. Perugia

**RONCETTI, M.** (1977) Scacchi storici. Il "códice erugino". In: La Nazione, ediz. Dell'Umbria, 2-8-1977. Perugia

**CHICCO, A.** (1984) I Misteri del Codice perugino. In: Contromossa, March 1984

**PRATESI, F.** (1996) Misterioso, ma oggi un po' meno. In: Informazione Scacchi, 4. Bergamo, pp. 163-166

**SANVITO, A.** (1996) Il manoscritto progresista di Perugia. In: L'Italia Scacchistica. Milano

<sup>615</sup> **TORQUEMADA, Antonio de** (1547) El Ingenio o juego de marro de punta o damas, Valencia

Now that we have described the situation of the Jews in the Kingdom of Valencia, the reader will more easily understand the fact that Francesch Vicent dedicates three diagrams to Ludus rebellionis (The Game of Rebels). Parlett also refers to this game which presumably depicts a rebellion against the King and Queen<sup>616</sup>. In Ludus Rebellionis C., another innovation of Francesch Vicent, we see again a type of a draughts, but that cannot be draughts since the two rows in the middle of the board are occupied by pawns. We even see a King (Rey) and Dama (Queen) on each side. On the other hand certain three squares on both sides have again marks similar to the letter ‘v’.

v	R	D	v			v	D	R	v
v									v
P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P
P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P
P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P
P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P

**Ludus Rebellionis d.**  
**Manuscript of Cesena (1502) and Perugia, (1503-1506)**

Finally the last diagram, in this case that of Ludus Rebellionis d., shows again 32 pawns on the board, but now they are in the

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<sup>616</sup> **PARLETT, D.** (1999) The Oxford History of Board Games. New York, N.Y.: Oxford University Press, pp. 189-190.

initial state and this game is quite similar to the game of wolves and sheep. We see a King (Rey) and Dama (Queen) on each side. On the other hand certain three squares on both sides have again marks similar to the letter 'v'.

## 12 ALQUERQUE-12 CHANGING IN DRAUGHTS

### 12.1 Foreign draughts terms

**The definition of the term juego de damas (in French: Jeu de dame; in English: Draughts).**

When we speak about draughts, we are thinking of a game that is using damas or kings on the board. However, there is considerable confusion about the origin of Draughts among scholars. And this has been so from the beginning. Even the writers of the Draughts books in the sixteenth century had this problem. Rodrigo Caro<sup>617</sup> in his book of 1624 says that it is a very ancient game and everything indicates that he borrowed texts from Pantoja de Ayala<sup>618</sup>, because this writer in his Latin book refers by draughts to an ancient game where you capture the enemy pieces by surrounding them; Pedro Ruiz Montero<sup>619</sup> (1591) says that the famous lawyer Scaevola played draughts; Lorenzo Valls<sup>620</sup> “El Valenciano” (1597) does not say that it is an old game, because with the term ‘nuestro juego’ (our game)

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<sup>617</sup> **CARO, Rodrigo** (1624) *Días geniales o lúdricos*, Manuscript. Edition of Jean-Pierre Etievre, Espasa-Calpe S.A., Madrid 1978. 2 Volumes

<sup>618</sup> **PANTOJA DE AYALA, Pedro** (1625) *Commentaria in Titulum de Aleatoribus, Digestis et Codice, seu de Ludorum universa antiquitate*, Madrid. (Manuscript 84-I-17 Bibliothek Colombina - Sevilla)

<sup>619</sup> **RUIZ MONTERO, Pedro** (1591) *Libro del Juego de las Damas*, vulgarmente nombrado el marro, Valencia

<sup>620</sup> **VALLS, Lorenzo** (1597) *Libro del Juego de las Damas*, por otro nombre el Marro de Punta, Valencia. - (Biblioteca del Palacio, Madrid). Valls said: “De todo esto carece nuestro juego de damas, vulgarmente llamado del marro”. (Of all this lacks our game of Draughts, commonly called “del marro”)



he considered it to be of Valencia and Juan de Timoneda<sup>621</sup> (1635 edited in Toulouse<sup>622</sup>), the bookseller, printer, and poet of Valencia, with texts in his book of c. 1518 does not mention ancient times, but with his term ‘nuestro Marro de punta’ (our Marro de punta - old Spanish name for draughts) considered it to be a new game of Valencia<sup>623</sup>. Pedro Ruiz Montero speaks in his book of ‘jugaba a la pelota, a las damas<sup>624</sup>, (played with the ball and with the Queen pieces) and in another place he says: ‘al juego de las damas’, which means one talks about a game where damas (Queens) are used and where the term *dama* is characteristic for this boardgame.

The same game owes its name to the Dama piece<sup>625</sup>, viz to the new powerful piece (Queen) and as the use of unlimited Damas was permitted, this entertainment or game was referred to in plural in Spain ‘a las damas’, ‘el juego de damas’ or ‘el juego de las damas’. This is different in chess where each opponent could normally only have one Dama and this entertainment was

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<sup>621</sup> **TIMONEDA, Juan** (1635) Libro llamado Ingenio, el cual trata del Juego del Marro de punta", hecho por Juan de Timoneda, Dedicado al Mvy magnifico Senñor don Ynnigo de Losca Capitan en las Galeras de España. Al qual se han annadido ocho trechas de mucho primor, por Antonio Miron y del Castillo, Tolosa

<sup>622</sup> **JEANNERET, Philippe & DEPAULIS, Thierry** (1999) Le libre du jeu de dames. Paris, p. 13

<sup>623</sup> Desde el principio me ha parecido amonestar **nuestro Marro de punta** como se ha de jugar .....(From the beginning I thought to warn how one has to play our Marro de Punta)

<sup>624</sup> In 15th century Spain the ‘dama’ had the same meaning as Queen in chess. This new powerful piece was quickly used in draughts too, with the label ‘Dama’ in Spain.

<sup>625</sup> The poet in the book of Lorenzo Valls (1597) clearly says: “....Assi Lorenço Valls es quien nos priva - Del calor confuso y turbulenta lumbre, De juego que de damas tiene el nombre,...”. (So Lorenzo Valls is the one who deprives us of the confusing and turbulent heat fire, of the game that has its name from the Damas (Queens)).

called: ‘el ajedrez de la dama’. It is true that theoretically speaking, in chess one could obtain 8 Damas when crowning the 8 pawns, but in practice it is very difficult to see two crowned pawns converted to Dama or Queen. Still today the Italians use the terms ‘gioco della dama’, ‘la dama’, and ‘alla dama’<sup>626</sup>, when they refer to draughts. Observe that they use the singular noun form “dama” whereas the Spaniards prefer to use the plural noun form “damas”.

In a careful study done by José Antonio Garzón Roger Timoneda himself supplied us with a very valuable piece of evidence that shows not only that he used a chess text, but more importantly that there is a direct relationship between modern chess and the birth of draughts<sup>627</sup>.

Y si acaso el negro tuviere dama de principio de juego para estar bien puesta en el tablero ha la de poner en la casa de la “Ç”.

Translation:

And if Black has a queen (Dama) from the beginning of the game in order to position her well on the board, she should be placed on the “Ç” square.

This is a surprising sentence which reveals the connection between ‘marro de punta’ (draughts) and modern chess. Timoneda proposed to start the game with a Dame from the starting position; therefore, like in chess, the player would have

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<sup>626</sup> *L'alquerque* è un gioco abbastanza simile alla dama (Alquerque is a game quite similar to draughts) Cfr. **ASINNI, Alfonso & CAROLI, Paola** (2009) Spazi per la memoria storica. La storia di Genova attraverso le vicende delle sedi e dei documenti dell'Archivio di Stato, Roma

<sup>627</sup> **WESTERVELD, Govert** (2004) La reina Isabel la Católica, su reflejo en la dama poderosa de Valencia, cuna de ajedrez moderno y origen del juego de damas. En colaboración con José Antonio Garzón Roger, Valencia. Generalidad Valenciana, Secretaria Autonómica de Cultura, pp.339 and 415

a Dame (or queen) from the start, and future ones would be a result of queening pawns, in a similar way to chess.

We see in the book of Juan Timoneda that he describes the draughts game in the following Spanish terms: ‘marro de punta’, ‘juego de marro que llaman de punta’, ‘a jugar al marro que llaman de punta’, ‘juego del marro de punta’, and that Pedro Ruiz Montero uses the terms ‘el marro’ and ‘juego del marro’, but these two writers do not mention in any place the word ‘punta’, something that Lorenzo Valls does in the title of his book: ‘marro de punta’. In Valencia people commonly said ‘marro de punta’, while in the region of Andalucía people used the term ‘jugar a las damas’<sup>628</sup> in 1595. This must necessarily imply that the game had some development stages in Spain, ending up in a game that would ultimately be called *el juego de damas* (the game of draughts) between 1550 - 1591, or just *damas* (draughts) in Spain and exactly here is the confusion, because in each change of the game when players were changing the rules they did not immediately change the name of the game.

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<sup>628</sup> In the manuscript of Alonso Guerra, reducido en el mismo estilo por el licenciado Diego de Argomedo en 1658, we observe a title as: “libro para jugar a las damas”. (Book for playing draughts). The proprietary of the manuscript, Victor Cantalapiedra of Valladolid stipulates the date of Alonso Guerra as 1595.

## 12.2 The promotion with the Dama in Alquerque-12

In 1570 the draughts game was known in Mexico too. Diego Duran<sup>629</sup> (1538-1588) said about the games used in Mexico by the Indies of New Spain:

Jugaban el juego del alquerque, o de las damas, imitando el juego que nosotros jugamos del adxedris (...)

Translation:

They played the game of alquerque, or of “Damas”, imitating the game that we play as the chess [board].

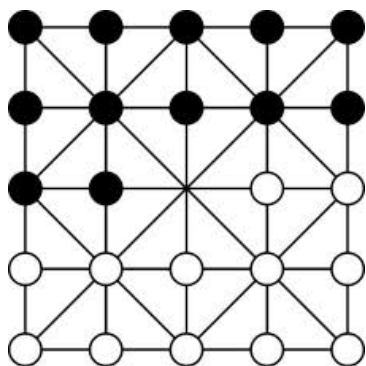
We learn from Diego Duran that the Indies did not only play the ancient alquerque, but also an alquerque game with chess queen or Damas. In Spain it was the chessboard to be used for draughts, but in Mexico they did not use the chess board and preferred to play on the Alquerque 12 board. This alquerque 12 game with Damas (Queens) was thus a new game like draughts on the chessboard with Damas.

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<sup>629</sup> **DURAN, Fray Diego** (c.1570) *Historia de las Indias de Nueva España e Islas de la Tierra Firme*, Manuscrito, I Libro de los Ritos, Edición de Mexico 1967

### 12.2.1 Quireg or Fetach

The use of Damas in alquerque 12 was also introduced in north Africa. Suddenly we see damas on the normal alquerque 12 board which is there called Quireg or Fetach<sup>630</sup>.



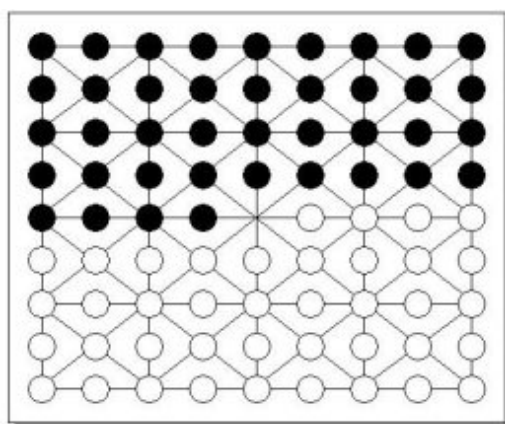
Alquerque-12 "Quireg" with Damas

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<sup>630</sup> **LHÔTE, Jean Marie** (1994) Histoire des jeux de société: géométries du désir, pp. 386 and 593

### 12.2.2 Damma (Zamma, Srand or Dhamet)

Under the influence of the word Dama after 1550 the game was then called Damma<sup>631</sup> (Zamma<sup>632</sup>) and the quadruple alquerque game was also introduced. This game is called Srand or Dhamet in Mauritania and had undergone a great change there between the 16th and 17th century, when draughts with Damas became popular in many places worldwide.



**Damma (Zamma, Srand or Dhamet)**

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<sup>631</sup> **MURRAY, Harold James Ruthven** (1952) A History of Board Games Other Than Chess, Oxford, pp. 66 and 69

<sup>632</sup> **MONOD, Théodore Monod** (1950) Sur quelques jeux africains a quadrillages. In: Notes Africaines, N° 45, January, pp. 11-13

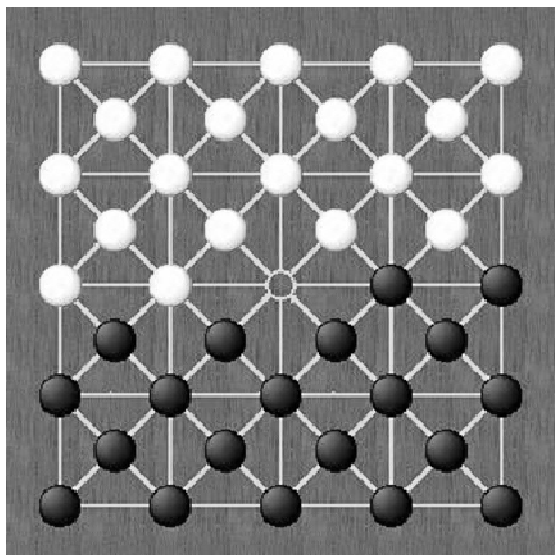
**MOKHTAR, Ould Hamidoun** (1952) Précis sur la Mauritanie. IFAN Saint-Louis (Mauretania)

**OL BAH, Abdallahi** (1984) Les Dames du Desert, Jeux et Stratégie N° 27, June-July

**ALEMANNI, Jean Bernard** (2005) Les Jeux de Dames dans le Monde. Techniques, Chiron, Paris

### 12.2.3 Kharbaga

In Mauritania not only the Damas were introduced to the game, but also the size of the board was completely changed. Apart from that the pieces can only move forward and the promoted piece, Mullah, at the last rank moves and captures in any direction through any number of squares. It has thus the same moving and capturing power as the Dama in Spanish draughts. A similar game 'Kharbaga'<sup>633</sup>, is less important in Mauritania.



**Kharbaga**

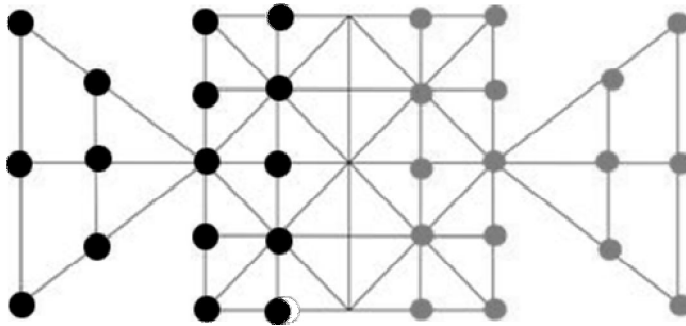
**Image: [www.gamesfromeverywhere.com.au](http://www.gamesfromeverywhere.com.au)**

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<sup>633</sup> **MOKHTAR, Ould Hamidoun** (1952) Précis sur la Mauritanie. IFAN Saint-Louis, Mauretania

### 12.2.4 Permainan Dama

We know that the Dutch also have a long leap in their draughts and this is due to the Spanish presence in the Low Countries in the 16<sup>th</sup> century when the Spanish game was introduced in the Netherlands and Belgium by the Spaniards. Indonesia suffered a colonial period by the Dutch for many years and the influence of Dutch customs was also expressed in the Permainan Tabal game. This game was an expanded alquerque 12 board with two triangles. Its present name is Permainan Dama.



**Permainan Tabal (Permainan Dama)**

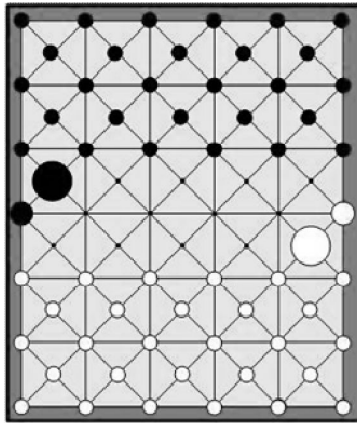
In Permainan Tabal the pieces can move forward and sideways, but not backward. Capture by a short leap is performed in all directions. Capture is compulsory and there is a huff or penalty of three pieces when the adversary forgets to capture. The pieces are obliged to follow the pattern on the board. The idea of the game is to capture all the opponent's pieces. A piece moves to an empty adjacent point. If an adjacent point is occupied by an enemy's piece and the point directly behind is vacant, then one can jump over it and capture it, as in draughts



or checkers. Several pieces may be captured like this in a single turn. In this variant the captured pieces are instantly removed from the board. If either party scores three pieces in the triangle, they are converted to a Dama. The Dama moves and captures in all directions. It can move any number of squares, like the Dama in international draughts, and land anywhere behind a captured piece. As indicated before, capture is compulsory. In endgames a majority of only one Dama is sufficient for a win.

### 12.2.5 Dablot prejjesne

But there was also a game known as 'Dablot prejjesne' that was described in an article by Nils Keyland<sup>634</sup>.



**Dablot prejjesne**

Image: [www.boardgamesoftheworld.com](http://www.boardgamesoftheworld.com)

A doubtful reference to this game could have been given by Londholm<sup>635</sup> in a Swedish text of 1884, but it is not clear if he is referring to the Hnefatafl or to the Dablot game. Nils states that the Dablot prejjesne game is familiar with draughts and alquerque, because the rules are quite different from the hnefatafl game. In the Dablot prejjesne game each player has a King, a Prince, and 28 Peasants. Just as happens in a variety of Italian draughts, the Peasants (or pawns in the Italian draughts

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<sup>634</sup> **KEYLAND, Nils** (1921) Dablot prejjesne och dablot duoljesne. Tvänne lappska spel fran Frostviken, förklarade och avbildade. In: Etnologiska Studier tillägnade Nils Edvard Hammarstedt 19 3/3 21, Sune Ambrosiani, Ed., Stockholm, pp. 35-47

<sup>635</sup> **LINDHOLM, P.A.** (1884) Hos Lappbönder, Albert Bonniers Förlag, Stockholm, p. 82

game) cannot capture the King and Prince (Dama in the Italian draughts game). However, the reference to this Dablot prejjesne game is not earlier than the 18th century.

### 12.2.5.1 Other Viking games

There are other similar Viking games<sup>636</sup> played on a chequered board, with the number of vertical squares being odd and equal to the number of horizontal squares, so that there is a distinct central square.

Hnefatafl (Saami game of tablut)

Tawlbwrdd

Tablut

Fidchell

Brandub

Capturing is not by leaping over an ennemy piece. A piece is captured and removed from the board if it comes between two enemy pieces, one on each side in vertical or horizontal direction. The king is captured if he is surrounded by enemy pieces or restricted by squares in all four cardinal points, so that he cannot move in any direction<sup>637</sup>. Dablot prejjesne is a similar game to *Ludus Rebellionis C.* that appears in the Manuscripts of Cesena and Perugia written by the Spanish Jew Francesch Vicent from Valencia, as is indicated in an earlier chapter of this book.

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<sup>636</sup> **STERCKX, Claude** (1970) Les jeux de damiers celtiques. In: Annales de Bretagne. Volume 77, Issue 4, pp. 597-609

**STERCKX, Claude** (1973) Les trois damiers de Buck-quoy (Orcaes). In: Annales de Bretagne. Tome 80, numéro 3-4, 1973, pp. 675-689 (text in French)

<sup>637</sup> **HELMFRID, Sten** (2006) Hnefatafl – the Strategic Board Game of the Vikings, pp. 1-18.

(hem.bredband.net/b512479/Hnefatafl\_by\_Sten\_helmfrid.pdf)

## 12.3 The characteristics of draughts

Taking the previous information into account, various draughts researchers have now created some rules:

1. The pawn or piece can be crowned in the game  
(Ir. Gerard Bakker)
2. There are at least two rows on the board between the two initial positions. (Rob Jansen)
3. The number of squares or intersections in the game is even.  
(Rob Jansen)
4. The enemy pawns or pieces are captured jumping over them forward, putting the piece just behind the last captured enemy pawns or pieces.
5. Pawns or pieces move in a sole diagonal or orthogonal, but never in the reverse direction.
6. Use of the chessboard (Ir. Gerard Bakker)
7. In case of a line board, use of the same diagonals as in chess with aid of the lines (Andarraya).

It is worth noting that in Spain we had various names for the precursors of draughts and draughts with Damas:

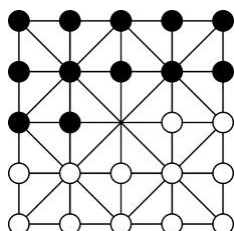
All historical Western European draughts games (of which the Spanish and English draughts are the oldest forms) belong to this definition of the characteristics of draughts: these forms are now played with two sets of twelve discs and 32 squares of the chessboard are used. The Turkish draughts also belongs to this: this form is played with two sets of sixteen discs and uses 64 squares of the chessboard. The medieval game alquerque 12

does not belong to this group, because it is not played on a chessboard and had no promotion<sup>638</sup>.

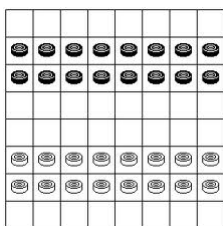
	Alquerque Without Damas	Andarraya Without Damas	Alquerque With Damas	Marro de Punta with Damas	Juego de las Damas
Alquerque Without Damas	1283				
Andarraya		1454-1495			
Alquerque with Damas			1627		1627
Marro de Punta				1547-1597	1597
Damas				1547-1635 Timoneda	1547
Jugamos a las Damas			1593		1549 1595
Juego de Damas			1593 1627 1786		
Juego de las Damas					1591- 1611
Ludus Dominarum D.				1502	
Ludamos ad Dominas				1538	

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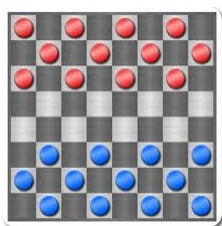
<sup>638</sup> **BAKKER, Gerard** (1992) Middeleeuws dammen? (Medieval Draughts?). In: *Het Nieuwe Damspel*, Number 3, pp. 64-69



**Alquerque-12**



**Turkish draughts**<sup>639</sup>



**Spanish draughts**

The fact that the medieval draughts – taking Gerard Bakker’s definition into account – was considered fiction has been confirmed by the chess historian Petzold:

Bezeichnend ist, dass noch im Mittelalter die Existenz des Damespiels nicht eindeutig bezeugt ist. Keine einzige Spielsammlung enthält Hinweise. Erwähnungen bei Boccaccio und anderen Dichtern sind viel zu allgemein gehalten, als dass sie sich auch zu anderen Spielen von der Art der Mühle oder des Asaltos passten, wie sie beispielsweise im “Codex Alfonso” dargestellt werden.

### **Translation**

It is significant that even in the Middle Ages the existence of the draughts game is not clearly attested. No game collection contains indication. Mentions in Boccaccio and other poets are too generic, so they do not fit well to be other games such as the morris type or asaltos, as for example shown in the “Codex Alfonso”.

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<sup>639</sup> Thomas Hyde has a diagram in his book where we see that the first two rows are used for the 16 pieces. Cfr. **HYDE, Thomas** (1694b). *De Ludis Orientalibus*, Oxford. Volume II, p. 184.



**Dr. Joachim Petzold**

### 12.3.1 Draughts borrowed promotion from chess

Petzold<sup>640</sup> then asserted that the first draughts game must have borrowed the promotion from chess and not vice versa. Petzold, aware of the work of Van der Stoep, took a clear standpoint against Van der Stoep, who had deposited in the last sentence of the last chapter of his *A History of Draughts*: “it is equally impossible to determine which game borrowed the promotion from which: chess from draughts or vice versa”. That was in 1984. Today Van der Stoep is thinking totally differently.

With regards to the thesis of Van der Stoep at the University of Leiden<sup>641</sup> in 1997 the draughts historian Rob Jansen observed the following in his review<sup>642</sup>:

As a critical note one could state that the Spanish literature has been neglected, especially since it was superior to the French Dame [Draughts] books. Also the comparison of words between dictionaries was investigated to make a chronology of terms, while the comparison of words within one dictionary was neglected and could have provided more precise semantics where definitions appeared vague at first glance. Lastly, the diagrams erroneously suggest that it is possible to accurately indicate the period in which a word was common and had certain meaning.

It must be said that thereafter Van der Stoep carefully studied the situation in Spain and the result of that was his new book

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<sup>640</sup> **PETZOLD, Joachim** (1986) *Schach. Eine Kulturgeschichte*. Leipzig, p. 154

<sup>641</sup> **STOEP, Arie van der** (1997) *Over the herkomst van het woord damspel; een probleem uit de geschiedenis van bordspel en bordspelterminologie*. Rockanje

<sup>642</sup> **JANSEN, Rob** (1998) *A. van der Stoep. Over de herkomst van het woord damspel*. In: *Board Game Studies*, Number 1, p. 114



from 2005 in which he tries by all means to demonstrate that chess was strongly influenced by draughts<sup>643</sup>:

One of the most characteristic features of chess is the promotion. When chess was born about 500 years AD, draughts with its promotion rule had been played for over 2000 years. There cannot be any doubt: the first chess queen was a copy of the short king in Roman draughts. The new 15th c. chess queen was an imitation of the king in Spanish draughts; its name DAMA was borrowed from draughts, Spanish JUEGO DE DAMAS. In the 15th c. chess borrowed the long queen from draughts.

However, there are many scholars who thought that draughts was born from alquerque and chess, such as Van der Linden, Brunet, Branch, Fiske<sup>644</sup>, Bakker, Petzold, Westerveld, Garzón, and others.

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<sup>643</sup> **STOEP, Arie van der** (2005) Draughts in relation to chess and Alquerque

<sup>644</sup> **FISKE, Willard** (1905) Chess in Iceland and in Icelandic literature with historical notes on other table-games, Florence. P. 93

# 13 THEORIES ABOUT THE MEDIEVAL DRAUGHTS

## 13.1 Etymology has errors and doubts

Van der Stoep relies increasingly on his knowledge of etymology. In this sense he introduced in the eighties (*jeu des*) tables as the name for medieval draughts. He repeated the above evidence in 1984 in his great work *A History of Draughts* in the following way<sup>645</sup>:

Two factors make me assume that before the 16th century draughts hid under the name of (*jeu des*) **tables**, namely the fact that Fr. **Dame** succeeded Fr. **Table** as the name of the man and the probability that **jeu des tables** still occurred in the 16th century as the name of draughts.

In 1980 Van der Stoep still had doubts when he stated<sup>646</sup>: “but the question remains: was there actually draughts before 1500?” But in 1984 Van der Stoep changed the question of 1980 in an exclamation. It is quite interesting to observe that Van der Stoep in his book of 1984 dedicated 30 pages to the French “table” concept and only 10 pages to the “draughts” concept.

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<sup>645</sup> **STOEP, Arie van der** (1984) *A History of Draughts*, p. 33. Cited by **BAKKER, Gerard** (1992) *Middeleeuws dammen? (Medieval Draughts?)*. In: *Het Nieuwe Damspel*, issue 3, pp. 64-69

<sup>646</sup> **STOEP, Arie van der** (1980) Dutch draughts magazine “Dammagazine DB. Cited by **BAKKER, Gerard** (1992) *Middeleeuws dammen? (Medieval Draughts?)*. In: *Het Nieuwe Damspel*, issue 3, pp. 64-69

## 13.2 The untenable Marelle Theory

When we go to 1991 we see that suddenly Van der Stoep<sup>647</sup> in an interview with Jan Wielaard did not believe anymore in his tables theory. Two years later in 1993 he stated in the Dutch Draughts Magazine *Hoofdlijn*: “In 1984 I defended the thesis that the medieval name for the draughts game was ‘tables’, but this claim I withdraw”<sup>648</sup>. So Van der Stoep posited a new Marelle theory of the origin of draughts:

My thesis is now finished. I really hope in 1993 or even earlier to promote (...). My own dissertation, entitled *What is the etymology of Jeu de Dames*, is an extended version of my *A History of Draughts*, but with some new and different views with certain words (...). The second question is to ask yourself what is the word for ‘jeu de dames’ in the Middle Ages. (...) Now I have also found the word that stands for ‘Jeu de dames’. I had not discovered it when I was writing my book. I still do not make it public, so that the magazine *Dammen* gets the scoop. The Middle Dutch word for ‘jeu de dames’ is ‘merellen’, the medieval French word is ‘merelles’, in Italian Marella, in Northern Spain Marro. Now I have a proof in four languages. These words mean in Dutch, French, and Italian ‘game with discs’ and ‘jeu de dames’.

In the aforementioned interview the alquerque 12 game of the Alfonso Codex of 1282 was identified – even defined – as draughts. In this case the historian Gerard Bakker cannot follow Van der Stoep anymore. If not only the character of the use of the chessboard, but also the promotion are abandoned in the

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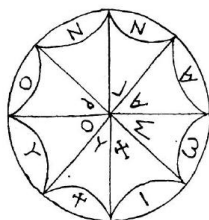
<sup>647</sup> **STOEP, Arie van der** (1991) Het interview. Jan Wielaard in gesprek met Arie van der Stoep. In: Dutch draughts magazine “Dammen”, Number 63, March, pp. 1-7. Cited by **BAKKER, Gerard** (1992) *Middeleeuws dammen?* (Medieval Draughts?). In: *Het Nieuwe Damspel*, Number 3, pp. 64-69

<sup>648</sup> **STOEP, Arie van der** (1993) Dutch Draughts Magazine “*Hoofdlijn*”, issue 30, pp. 3-5

definition of the first draughts games, then not only can this alquerque 12 game be retrospectively elevated to draughts, but, for example, the ancient Greek and Roman boardgames are also eligible for that.

Since 1991 Van der Stoep clarified his Marellen thesis and suddenly this game also had promotion. The question here is how can we give promotion to a game of which we do not know the rules? Consequently this is fiction or speculative cogitation and not a thesis based on documents or other proofs.

But what to the French is the 'jeu de Merelle' or 'Merelles', apart from the Alquerque 12 game? I noted at least five boards given by Jacques Coupry. The first example I give here is a round disc that the French call 'Jeu de Marelle'.

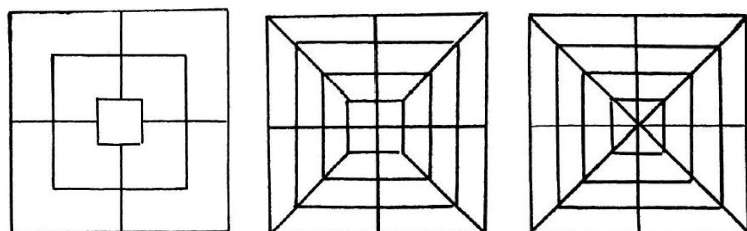


**Jeu de Marelle**

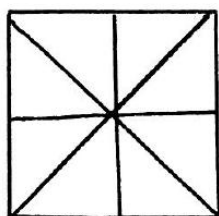
However, there are other Marelles or Marelle games that follow hereafter. Three of them are called in Spain 'alquerque 9' games and another game is known as alquerque 3 that is also called 'Jeu de Marelle' in French. Finally a pawn for the Marelle game is showed<sup>649</sup>.

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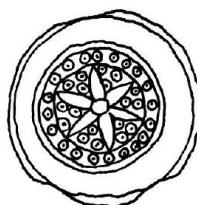
<sup>649</sup> **COUPRY, Jacques** (1946) Un joueur de marelle au marché de Philippes. In: Bulletin de correspondance hellénique. Volume 70, pp. 102-105



Three types of “Jeu de Marelle” (alquerque-9)



Jeu de Marelle  
(Alquerque-3)



Pawn for the Marelle game

Archaeological excavations also revealed Marelle pawns of bone or wood. Not general pawns, of course, but pawns in ceremonial games similar to draughts pieces, though somewhat larger. Michel Pastoureau established a typology of these pieces and showed how, more than the color (white / red to the mid thirteenth century, thereafter white / black) or even the scenery, where the cannelures on the pawns helped in most cases to distinguish the pieces of each battlefield<sup>650</sup>. It is clear that the

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<sup>650</sup> **PASTOUREAU, M.** (1982) Les pions de jeux médiévaux: assai de typologie. In: Bulletin de la Société française de numismatique, Number 4, pp. 681-685

term 'Marelle' is a general group term and that one has to deduce from the text which type of Marelle game exactly is meant.

In his book from 2005 Van der Stoep<sup>651</sup> describes on many pages the situation of the alquerque 12 game (merelle) and again the metaphors of “merelle” expresses according to Van der Stoep a great popularity of draughts played on lines in France. I do not agree with the term ‘draughts’ that Van der Stoep used for a merelle game, because for me alquerque 12 (merelle) is the precursor of draughts. However, there are no proofs in the book of places where the alquerque 12 games were played in France. Nor did I see the alquerque 12 game in the book of Beq de Fouquières<sup>652</sup>. My research for places where alquerque 12 was played in France also did not give the desired results. Most alquerque 12 boards were located in Spain and Italy as I have proved in other books of Alquerque 12.

Van der Stoep by all means tried to prove that draughts was played in France or England in medieval times. Another thesis by him was about the word ‘checkers’ that was made public by him through the Dutch draughts magazin *Hoofdljn* in 1993. According to Van der Stoep ‘checkers’ was draughts played in medieval times<sup>653</sup>. Hereunder follows part of what his website<sup>654</sup> states about this thesis:

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**PASTOUREAU, M.** (1982) Les pions de jeux médiévaux: assai de typologie. In: L’hermine et le sinople, Paris, pp. 343-347

<sup>651</sup> **STOEP, Arie van der** (2005) Draughts in relation to chess and alquerque

<sup>652</sup> **BEQ DE FOUQUIÈRES, L.** (1873) Les Jeux des Anciens. Paris

<sup>653</sup> **STOEP, Arie van der** (1993) Dutch draughts magazine *Hoofdljn*, Number 30

<sup>654</sup> <http://www.draughtshistory.nl/Nederlgeschiedenis.htm>

### **De eigenwijze Engelsen**

Gezien de grote invloed van de Franse cultuur op de Engelse cultuur zullen ook de Engelsen in die tijd wel op het schaakbord hebben gedamd. Ze hebben echter de Franse naam voor het spel niet overgenomen, en dat geeft te denken. Het dammen op het schaakbord, is dat misschien een Engelse vinding? We zullen er wel nooit achter komen.

In ieder geval heette een potje dammen in Engeland in de 14e eeuw *to play at the checker*. Toegegeven, een bewijsplaats uit de 14e eeuw is er niet, want de twee oudst bewaard gebleven vermeldingen van de spelnaam dateren van begin 15e eeuw. Toen was dammen in Engeland een algemeen bekend spel. Een spel verspreidt zich niet van de ene dag op de andere over heel Engeland, daar zijn jaren voor nodig. Dus moeten het damspel en de naam *play at the checker* al in de 14e eeuw in Engeland bekend zijn geweest.

We geven de twee oudste bewijsplaatsen van de spelnaam. De onbekende schrijver van het werk "Jacob's Well", vervaardigd rond 1410, waarschuwt zijn lezers voor de zonden waartoe de duivel hen probeert te verleiden. Zijn tijdgenoten spelen triktrak (backgammon), schaken en dammen. In het Engels van die tijd: *pleyin at the tablys, at the chesse & the chekyr*. Spelletjes doen vond de schrijver heel erg, want dan kom je in de hel. Wat later, in 1426, was ook John Lydgate niet erg positief over wat hij om zich heen zag. Zondaars zijn het, die Engelsen. Weet je wat de *lords* (dat zijn in die tijd de ridders op hun kastelen, tegenwoordig mensen van adel) voor erge dingen doen? Stel je voor, *Lords play at ches and the cheker*. Later werden deze twee spelnamen eenvoudiger: *to play chess, to play checkers*, zeggen de Engelsen tegenwoordig. Het bleek al eerder: schaken en dammen waren beide tijdverdrijf voor de betere standen, de tekst van Lydgate bewijst het eens te meer.

### **Loose translation:**

#### **The stubborn English**

Given the influence of French culture in the English culture the English would also have played draughts on a chessboard in those days. However, they did not copy the name of the game and this makes us wonder. Playing draughts on a chessboard may be an English invention. We will probably never find out. In any case, playing draughts in England in the 14th century was called "to play at

the checker”. Admittedly, there is no evidence of a place in the 14th century, because the two oldest surviving records of the game name date from early 15th century. Then draughts was already a well known game in England. A game does not spread from one day to another throughout England, something like that needs years. So the game and name “play at the checker” must already have been known in England as early as the 14th century. We give the two oldest evidence places of the game’s name. The unknown writer of the work *Jacob’s Well*, written around 1410, warns his readers of the sins that the devil tries to tempt them. His contemporaries play backgammon, chess, and draughts. In English of that time: *pleyin at the tablys, at the chesse & the cheker*. The author found horrible playing games, because then you get into hell. Some time later, in 1426, John Lydgate was not very positive about what he saw around him. Those Englishmen are sinners. Do you know what the Lords (who in those days were the knights in their castles, today people of nobility) do for bad things? Imagine, *Lords play at ches and the cheker*. Later these two game names became simpler: *to play chess, to play checkers*, the Englishmen say today. It was previously chess and checkers were both pastime for the better classes, the text of Ludgate proves it once again.

But again, these words in ancient time had nothing to do with the draughts game and were used for the chess game. Ounce again I have to revert to Dr. Mehl<sup>655</sup> who warns about the terminology of the ancient names and their incorrect initialization:

Un imbroglio terminologique est peut-être à l’origine de nombre des confusions qui entourent l’histoire de ce jeu (de dames). Le terme anglais “draughts” est en effet responsable de bien des erreurs. Il apparaît vers 1400 et concerne au départ tous les jeux qui consistent à déplacer des jetons sur un tablier. Ce n’est qu’à l’époque moderne

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<sup>655</sup> **MEHL, JEAN-MICHEL** (1990) *Les jeux au royaume de France du XIII<sup>e</sup> au d’but du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Editions Fayard. As France has until now been considered the country of origin of the ‘damas’, Mehl’s work is sensational, because Mehl is an expert in medieval history.



qu'il est devenue l'équivalent de ce qui s'appelle encore le jeu de dames.

**Translation:**

A terminological confusion may be the cause of many of the confusions surrounding the history of this game (of draughts). The English term 'Checkers' is in fact responsible for many errors. It appears in 1400 and it refers to all games that involve moving pawns on a board. Only in modern times has it become the equivalent of what is still called the game of draughts.

Eales<sup>656</sup> said that the hypothesis of medieval boards, also meaning 'draughts', was in contradiction with the current interpretation of the medieval boards which in both English and French refer to a board game to later be called 'backgammon' in England, 'trictrac' in France, 'pouf' in Germany.

Van der Stoep in the magazines *Dammen* and *Hoofdlijn*<sup>657</sup> presented a theory that 12-piece alquerque knew a promotion in the Spanish alquerque 12 game whereby there would be a game of 'draughts'. This is an argument that both Mr. Garzón and I refute, since we can read in the chapter on alquerque 12 that in 1283 the promotion was not known in alquerque. Otherwise we would have been told by Alfonso X the Wise.

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<sup>656</sup> **EALLES, R** (1985) *The History of a Game*, London p. 49 Eales said: "..... tables in the Middle Ages was not a single game; Murray has identified over twenty-five variant games played on the 2x12 backgammon board, and there were probably more. Tabula was often coupled with chess in medieval sources and so it has very frequently been misunderstood as draughts. There is no basis for this error despite the fact that both games were played with round flat counters".

<sup>657</sup> **STOEP, Arie van der** (1993) *Middeleeuws Spaans damspel*. In: *Hoofdlijn* (1993) issue 31, p. 7-9

The common term for the game of 'draughts' (game with promoted damas or king) was in Spain marro or 'Marro de punta'. However, we have to taken into account that Marro was a collective name for some board games and therefore it is always necessary to have ample proof in form of documents to determine exactly whether we have to talk about a 'draughts' game or some kind of alquerque game which can be played with 12, 9, and 3 pieces. With this we mean that the 'joc marro' from 1370 and 'a marro', as we describe in the chapter on Marro, cannot be a game of 'draughts', as the coronation, the use of the *dama* piece and the use of the name “*dama*” in the game of Damas is posterior to this date.

**Precursory games of draughts.  
(Games without using damas) before 1495**

Country	12 pieces “Alquerque” (precursor of the “damas”)	9 pieces “Alquerque” “Juego de Molino”	3 pieces “Alquerque” Three in a row
Spain	Marro Andarraya*	Marro	Marro
France	Marelles Jeu de douze marelles	Marelles Jeu a neuf marelles	Marelles Jeu de trois marelles
England	Morris Draughts*	Morris Nine men morris	Morris
Italy	Marella	Marella	Marella
Netherlands	Marellen Twaalf stukken	Marellen Negenstukken	Marellen

**\*Could be games over lines**

## **14 DRAUGHTS » CHESS » CHECKERS**

**(by Dr. Franco Pratesi)**

### **14.1 A logical path**

As known, checkers is the American word corresponding to the English word draughts; here I would like to use both terms, reserving draughts for varieties which are usually played on an unchequered board, such as the Turkish variety. Avigliano begins his book with the statement that checkers is certainly a simplified form of chess, the only problem being which of these two games is the parent of the other. Similar ideas can be found earlier and later. In his work on board games other than chess, Murray concludes that both chess and alquerque were the parents of checkers. In his recent work on the history of draughts Van der Stoep has instead stressed the alquerque—checkers relationship, indicating that most earlier suggestions of chess taking part in the evolution of checkers were really unnecessary. The argument here is that the evolution of checkers and chess is closely connected, to the point that chess can be considered a parent of checkers and vice versa. Or, using the words as indicated above, draughts is a parent of chess while chess is a parent of checkers.

Most people learn chess and checkers, without realizing that the games which they have become acquainted with, exist in many varieties. Different varieties are played in other countries, such as Chinese and Japanese chess. Thus, a review of chess—checkers interactions cannot be limited to two single games, but must take account of a number of varieties. For checkers several

forms still exist, often played at a national level. In order to follow a logical path, going more or less directly back—wards in time, we can start with the complex Canadian 12x12 checkers, a development of the French 10x10 game. The origin of this relatively recent game is not very clear, even if supposedly related to the stay of the regiments of Meuron and Watteville (Massicotte) in Montreal; no surprise that older varieties will be of a still more uncertain origin. If Canadian checkers can be considered as a curious and isolated variety, the 10x10 Dutch—French variety, traditionally known as Polish, has gained the greatest international success in the course of time. Only in this game are now world championships being played, attracting players from several continents. Again, its origin has been the focal point of strong debates, particularly since the reports of a Parisian origin of about 1725 (as defended by Kruijswijk) are in contradiction with the boards and related evidence discovered in the Netherlands (Van der Stoep, Bakker).

In any case, even the 10x10 Dutch—French variety is not the original one. Early checkers has been played on the 8x8 chequered chess board. Given that the introduction of the chequered chess board occurred in about the 10th century, we may expect experiments with old board games on this new chess board, possibly leading to modifications of these old games since then. Even restricting to checkers varieties played on the chequered chess board, it is not easy to distinguish their historical development. A first approach is to divide the checkers varieties into kinds with and without a long move of the king. The assumption that the varieties with the short leap of the king are the earliest seems plausible. Thus, in our backward path we first encounter both the largely played Russian variety and Spanish checkers with its wonderful literature. The main difference between these two games is that the men in the

Russian variety can also take in backward directions. In the final stage of our backward review, we find the Italian and the French varieties. It seems very unlikely and illogical that these two varieties could have been derived from the previously mentioned forms. To people accustomed to a powerful long leap of the king, "new" varieties with a short king leap cannot have been attractive at all. There is a problem here, however. The extant documentary evidence seems to show that Spanish checkers was the first checkers played in the Netherlands (Bakker). The Anglo—French variety still exists as British and American checkers.

In the course of time only some laws of capturing may have been modified. Italian checkers is often mentioned for its strict capturing rule, "Il più col più", the taking of the most pieces by the most powerful ones. There is a consolidated theory that initially there was full freedom as to which pieces could be taken by which pieces, and that even taking itself was not compulsory at first. Then taking became compulsory, and huffing was introduced as a consequence. From this viewpoint, Italian checkers should be one of the younger versions. However, there are some hints that Italian checkers may be older. The fact that an Italian checkers king is the only king that cannot be taken by men seems to be important. There is early evidence for some difficulties in the application of this rule, as the statement of Aldrovandi, near the end of the 16th century, that a king could be taken when two men aimed together to capture him. In this context, the English name of the most powerful piece, otherwise rather difficult to explain, is completely at home: of course no common piece can take a chess—like king) (What appeared as a pawn—queen battle, now becomes a queen—king battle. The game may also be considered as a pawn—king battle, but in checkers the most powerful piece resembles more a queen than a king.) In chess

the only piece which cannot be taken is the king. The only checkers—king which cannot be taken is the king in Italian checkers. To be the sole example seems rather to be a residue of an older habit than a new rule, introduced in a well-spread game. Thus the name of the king in English checkers and the invulnerability of the king in Italian checkers seem to point to some original form. Even If a direct correspondence of checkers and chess kings is not accepted, there are further possible hypotheses for a very old origin. For instance, the board games of the fox and geese king also have the rule that the powerful fox cannot be taken by the common geese. Up to now, only the national varieties of the Western European countries have been considered.

Now we turn to the Eastern varieties, using the word draughts for these games, usually played on an unchequered board. In this way draughts may be older than checkers, since checkers cannot be older than the European chequered chess board, invented in the 10th century. Here we certainly encounter an even greater lack of documents and also a problem of definition. The demarcation boundary of what can be called draughts is not very sharp. On the other hand, the information preserved on the rules of most ancient board games is very scant; In particular, the typical method of capturing used in draughts has not been found in the ancient world, even if the broad diffusion both in Europe and Asia of games of the fox and geese type is hard to explain without assuming an ancient origin. Starting from Armenian and Turkish draughts, we may thus come across some board games of the ancient civilizations, played well before the introduction of chess. In this sense draughts may be considered as much older than chess. Thus chess may have been a child of draughts. In order to understand this derivation, we have to realize that early chess was not played like the modern game with its several far-reaching pieces that allow defence and

attack at distance. In old chess, the pawns had the forward move, but always only one square at a time; the kings moves just as now; the viziers moved only one square diagonally, either for moving or capturing. Given their quantity (pawns) and their power (kings and viziers), these pieces were the most significant in old chess, and these pieces all moved as may have been the case in old draughts. It may also be noted that in most abstract chess sets these three kinds of pieces are of a simple and almost identical shape, differing only in dimensions. It is important to know whether the other pieces of old chess, the chariot, the elephant and the horse, originally had the long move. Certainly the elephant and the horse had not, but it is uncertain whether the chariot, the most powerful piece in old chess, had the long move. Starting from ancient forms of draughts, a sort of chess may thus be obtained simply as a result of mixing two different games or by experiencing with the allowed moves. In order to acquire a better simulation of a battle.

It may be noted that the pieces that differed most from the draughts pieces, also changed the most, except for the horse of course. Here the illustration of my argument is reaching its end. The family of checkers and draughts is rich of varieties which may be divided into more ancient Eastern and more modern Western ones. The two groups seem to belong to different evolution stages, both in their own history and in relation to chess. Western checkers games are played on half the squares of the chequered board and consequently should be considered as chess children or, at least, if a direct filiation is not agreed upon, as games born after the introduction of chequered boards for chess. But Eastern draughts games, including Armenian and Turkish draughts, played on an unchequered board, may be considered as chess parents. Distinguishing Western and Eastern varieties has thus proven to be useful. However, Eastern

varieties are known In the West too such as Old German draughts (Thiele, Van der Stoep) and the varieties played in Frisia and elsewhere (Van der Stoep). Since only the draughts kind can antedate the chequered chess board, Frisian draughts may thus appear older than what is known as the Polish kind. However, the first evidence of Frisian draughts appears to be contemporary with the first traces of Polish checkers (Bakker). Connected with this distinction, chess may have been an intermediate form between draughts and checkers, at least in some cases. Useful advice from Mr Bakker and Mr Kruijswijk is gratefully acknowledged. In particular, Mr Kruijswijk indicated the works of Johnston and Limbrey, in which similar conclusions were reached almost a century ago and which can be considered as supporting the validity of the above reasoning<sup>658</sup>.

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<sup>658</sup> **PRATESI, Franco** (1991). Draughts»Chess»Checkers. A logical path. In: *Het Nieuwe Damspel*, Issue 1, pp. 18-19. Dr. Pratesi gives the following references: **AVIGLIANO, L.** - Il giuoco della dama all'Italiana -Milano 1918.

**BAKKER, Gerard** (1987). Spaans, Pools en Malkwerren dammen In Nederland van 1550 tot 1800 - HND 1987.

**KRUIJSWIJK, K.W.** (1966). Algemene historie en bibliografie van het damspel - Den Haag.

**KRUIJSWIJK, K.W.** (1980). L'origine du Jeu de dames polonais - De Haag.

**LIMBREY, G.H.** – (1973). The ancient history of the game of draughts, London 1913. Massicotte E.Z. - Historique du Jeu de dames canadien - Montreal 1922, 1973.

**MURRAY, H.J.R.** (1952). A history of board games other than chess – Oxford.

**VAN DER STOEP, A.** (1984). A history of draughts – Rockanje.

**THIELE, R.** (1987). Die gefesselte Zeit - Leipzig.



## 14.2 Analysis

This is the whole article of Dr. Franco Pratesi's written in 1991. Quite interesting is the sentence: *Starting from Armenian and Turkish draughts, we may thus come across some board games of the ancient civilizations, played well before the introduction of chess. In this sense draughts may be considered as much older than chess.*

The board game historian Dr. Arie van der Stoep from the Netherlands made good use of Dr. Pratesi's study and years thereafter wrote a book defending this idea<sup>659</sup>.

One of the problems that historians encounter is that many of them do not consider the old alquerque game to be the draughts game as we know it today. Thus pawns or discs played on a checkered board and with a long dame or short king. But could these games not have been played on a linesboard? The answer is probably yes and this makes it extremely difficult to make a separation between the old and new draughts game.

Another important statement of Dr. Pratesi's is this one: *The family of checkers and draughts is rich in varieties which may be divided into more ancient Eastern and more modern Western ones, the two groups seem to belong to different evolution stages, both in their own history and in relation to chess.*

This statement makes it clear that there were different evolution stages, both in their own histories. That is the reason why even

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<sup>659</sup> STOEP, Arie van der (2005) Draughts in relation to chess and alquerque

in Europe we see so many different draughts games - because the history of each country was different.

There is no doubt that the evolution of the draughts game was influenced by its own history. On the other hand there was a tendency in Europe to accept certain ideas of the Greek and Roman times known as the Renaissance, a period in Europe. From the 14th to the 17th century we had the Roman renaissance. This was a season that goes from the late 15th to the mid 16th century.

For that reason it is also important to study the literature of the boardgames in Roman times since they could have had a great influence on the evolution of the different varieties of the draughts games.

Draughts as the parent of chess needs a further explanation. The simple term 'draughts' is very confusing, because the reader automatically thinks of the actual boardgame of draughts played on a checkered board and with a strong dame or weak king. The idea is obvious, but needs much more information for the reader. It is absolutely necessary to indicate the difference between the two games clearly to avoid any confusion.

Till now most historians agree that Alquerque-12 was the precursor of the present draughts. However, since there was an evolution in draughts, as adequately observed by Dr. Pratter, we have to clearly indicate the steps and way of playing, or otherwise any boardgame could have been the precursor of draughts.

# 15 THE FRISIAN DRAUGHTS

This type of draughts game is known as: aka "Frysk damjen" (Frisian) or "Fries dammen" (Dutch) or "Frisian draughts" (English)

## 15.1 Rules of Frisian draughts

Frisian draughts is closely related to the now standard game of (Polish) draughts and can be traced back to at least the late 1600s, when the games of the Draughts Family were sweeping through Europe from the French base. It has retained its unique rules ever since, and presently has its own league, founded in 1932, and is still widely played in its natural home of Friesland. Friesland is (currently) a province with its own language and culture in the north of the Netherlands.

The "normal" version of draughts only slowly made its way into Friesland, and is known there as "Oer Hoek" (over corners) or "Hollânsk damjen/Hollands dammen". These days you are more likely to hear people talk about "Frysk Damjen" than "Oer Alles" (Over All).

The set-up and basic movement is identical to the commonly known game, but it won't be long before the main difference will become very apparent: capturing isn't restricted to just diagonal jumps, but can be executed horizontally and vertically as well. Yes, a piece can capture in all 8 directions! If you think that makes it easier to solve, try it. It has a lot more action but it doesn't become easier.

There are other subtle variations<sup>660</sup>:

A promoted King can be moved only three times in succession when a player still has normal pieces. After that it must be "released" by a capture (which can be made with the same king) or by moving another piece. When a player has nothing but Kings then this rule is ignored. When you can capture, you must, but if a King and a standard piece can both capture a stone, or stones, of equal value, then it is the King that has to make the capture. When there are multiple capturing opportunities of equal value than the one that includes most Kings must be taken. The moment a player obtains a second King (and his opponent has only one), than that player has seven moves to finish the match or it automatically becomes a draw. Kings can make long jumps.

## 15.2 Age of the game

Gerard Bakker also dealt with the Frisian draughts game that he described as the "Molkwerums dammen" and the first reference he found to this game was from 1725. According to him the game was not very old and his summary of the game is as follows:

The Dutch game "Molkwerums dammen" of the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century; the Scandinavian game "Makvaer" and the French game "jeu de dames à la babylonienne" (also known in England and Germany under this name) of the same period; the Frisian game "oer alles" (meaning "en tout sens" in French and "in all directions" in English) of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century; and the game "Fries Spel", at present practised in the north-west part of the Dutch province of Friesland, are one and the same game of draughts. Its main characteristics

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<sup>660</sup> <https://boardgamegeek.com/boardgame/22493/frisian-checkers>

ar the 100-square board and the power of man and king to make captures in eight directions: four diagonal, two horizontal and two vertical ones<sup>661</sup>.

## 15.3 Other names of Frisian draughts

The Frisians are still proud sailors and it should come as no surprise that there are more pockets along the North Sea and Baltic Sea that play the game, where it is known under many names that all refer to the erstwhile important Frisian harbour village of Molkwar/Molkwerum, famous in Holland for its ad-hoc infrastructure. Early Dutch literature (mockingly) refers to Frisian draughts with its free-form any-direction capturing as "Molkwerums dammen" as an homage to the labyrinthine village.

"Molkwerums dammen" (Dutch). A similar game is "Makvær" (Danish) or "Marquern" (Swedish), however, it is played on an 8x8 board and, in Makvær, a King doesn't only move diagonally, but also orthogonally, that is in 8 directions.

And more still:

"Jeu du Dame Bablionique" (French), "Babylonian Draughts" (English)

There is even a game played in Siberia that follows very similar rules to Frisian Draughts, except that it is played on a 64 field chess board<sup>662</sup>.

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<sup>661</sup> **BAKKER, Gerard** (1988). Korte geschiedenis van het molkwerums dammen. In: *Het Nieuwe Damspel*, Issue 3, pp. 66-70.

<sup>662</sup> For the article about Frisian draughts, see:  
<https://boardgamegeek.com/boardgame/22493/oer-alles>

## 15.4 FINAL CONCLUSION

### 15.5 The origin of the game of Alquerque-12

To establish a date and place for the beginning of Alquerque 12 is not easy. We have seen that there are some indications of a Roman period when we take into account the alquerque 12 boards found in Munigua. However, there is no indication of how the alquerque 12 board was found in this place, today called Mulva. Other researchers indicate that the board of alquerque 12 found in San Lu Place was from the Visigothic period and from the 6th century. On the other hand there is an alquerque 12 stone in the museum of Zamora that came from Dehesa de Pelazas. In the Middle Ages this place was the court of jurisdiction of the Knights of the Order of Santiago during the reign of Ferdinand II. Strangely enough, most of the alquerque 12 drawings are found in the north of Spain, whereas one would expect these boards more in the south, because up to now scholars think that alquerque 12 was of the Arabic origin.

In Portugal the game of Alquerque-12 is found on a lid of a sarcophagus from the Roman Castle S. Jorge<sup>663</sup>. The oldest parts of this castle date from the 6th century, when it was fortified by the Romans, Visigoths, and eventually the Moors. It served as a Moorish royal residence. Portugal's first king Afonso Henriques captured it in 1147 with the help of northern European crusaders on their way to the Holy Land.

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<sup>663</sup> Photos in the exposition of boardgames in other times “Pedras que Jogam”, 29 April to 23 June 2004, organized by Adelaide Carreira – Departamento de Matemática da Faculdade de Ciências da Universidade de Lisboa. Edite Alberto, Lúcia Fernandes – Museum da Cidade da Câmara Municipal de Lisboa.  
<http://es.scribd.com/doc/118247986/Pedras-Que-Jogam>, pp. 65-67.

In Italy two exemplars of alquerque-12 date back to the Roman period. They are found on a reused block of the front of the basilica of San Zeno in Verona and on the cathedral of Cherasco (Cuneo).

In Jerusalem on the long road that ascends to the place where Jesus Christ was crucified known as “Painful Way” (“Way of sorrows” or “Way of the cross”) there is a clear alquerque 12 drawing on one of the slabs that form the floor of the Roman Catholic “Chapel of Condemnation”. The chronology that can be established for this drawing would be between the Roman and the Medieval period. However, since the drawing is on a road, it is difficult to establish a date.

We have to be careful in considering all alquerque 12 drawings as board games. There are many vertical drawings of alquerque 12 that have nothing to do with the board game, since they were used for another purpose. In this respect one can take into account the Knights Templar and their carvings at the Donjon du Coudray, Chinon (France).

There is a manuscript between 1250 – 1300 from the Benedictine Cerne Monastery at Abbey (Dorsetshire) in the United Kingdom that shows the following games: Daldos, Alquerque 9, Alquerque 12, and chess.

The drawing on a stone of the Basilica of Saint John in Ephesus seems to be the oldest one in the world of the Alquerque 12 game, according to an expert in Roman Games.

In Turkey we have the Basilica of St. John in Ephesus, constructed by Justinian I in the 6th century. It stands over the

believed burial site of John the Apostle. It was modeled on the now lost Church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople.

On the walls and steps of the Roman Theatre of Bosra in Syria there are engraved numerous game boards, among them an Alquerque 12 drawing. After the decline of the Roman Empire Bosra played a significant role in the history of early Christianity. It was also linked to the rise of Islam.

What we observe is that Portugal, Spain, and Italy have the highest number of preserved alquerque 12 drawings. We do not know the exact date of the existence of the alquerque 12 game as this is something for the experts in Roman games, because we doubt that the alquerque 12 was really a Roman game as some researchers think. The alquerque 12 game in various countries always had to do with Christians and the church. It was probably played by the Church authorities, European crusaders, Knight Templars, Knights of the Order of Santiago, and other soldiers. For that reason our hypothesis is that the game was an invention of or related to the activities of the Catholic Church.

In this respect we remind that the new powerful dama in chess was based on Isabella of Castile. In this case the Catholic Church also arranged Isabella of Castile to be a representation of the Virgin Mary in 1468<sup>664</sup> and in 1475 we see her representation of the Virgin Mary in the new dama or queen<sup>665</sup>

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<sup>664</sup> **WESTERVELD, Govert** (2015) *The Training of Isabella I of Castile as the Virgin Mary by Churchman Martin de Cordoba in 1468.*

Lucena was in the possession of some manuscripts of Martin de Cordoba. That was the reason why he could edit the *Jardin de nobles doncellas* of Martin de Cordoba in Burgos.

<sup>665</sup> **GARZÓN ROGER, José Antonio** (2004) *Scachs d'amor: la prueba definitiva del origen valenciano del ajedrez moderno.* In: **WESTERVELD,**



on the chessboard. Lucena, the son of the churchman and protonotary Juan Ramírez de Lucena (ambassador of the Catholic queen) worked in the printing house of Antonio de Nebrija in Salamanca. We see Lucena's knowledge of chess and a new game known today as draughts expressed in the new dictionary of Antonio de Nebrija. The same new powerful dama changed andarraya into draughts in 1495<sup>666</sup> and alquerque 12, the precursor of draughts, was abandoned. The Catholic Church had a great influence on the development of these new board games.

## 15.6 The rules of Alquerque-12

Very little is known about the rules of Alquerque 12. What we know between the 13<sup>th</sup> and the 15<sup>th</sup> century is only fully described in the game book of King Alfonso X the Wise in 1283. The game is played by two players who have 12 pawns each. There was no coronation or strong piece in the game, because otherwise King Alfonso would have indicated this in his book. After 1283 we do not see the rules in any book or manuscript. We have to wait until 1544 when we see a description of the game in the book of Celio Calcagninus<sup>667</sup>.

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**Govert** (2004) La reina Isabel la Católica, su reflejo en la dama poderosa de Valencia, cuna de ajedrez moderno y origen del juego de damas. En colaboración con José Antonio Garzón Roger, Valencia. Generalidad Valenciana, Secretaria Autonómica de Cultura, pp. 279-300

<sup>666</sup> **NEBRIJA, Antonio de** (1495) Dictionarium hispano-latinum, Salamanca. (reprint in 1951 by the Real Academia Española. Diccionario Romance (Spanish) to latin. We know editions of this book of the years: 1492 Salamanca, 1494? Evora; 1503 Sevilla; 1506 Paris and 1513 in Madrid.

Andarraya

Calculorum ludus **NOVUM**

Dama es casi señora

Domina-ae **NOVUM**

<sup>667</sup> **CALCAGNINUS, Caelius** (1544). *De Calculis* in Opera aliquot.

As we know, Celio Calcagninus started working in Ferrara in 1506, precisely at the time of Francesch Vicent, the author of a chess book. Another coincidence is that in the alquerque 12 described by Calcagnini there are two corporals in the game. We observed something similar in the first draughts game in the book of Juan de Timoneda of which the first edition was published in 1547. However, the texts in the book of 1547 are much older and seem to come from Francesh Vicent's time. In this first draughts game we also see that two damas were used in the starting position of the party. Here the matter is who was the first to describe the new strong piece in the game. Apparently it was Francesch Vicent who described the strong pieces (damas) in the game of draughts in his two manuscripts of Perugia and Modena around 1505. Calcagnini described the capture of an opponent's piece and it appeared to be in the same manner as in the Roman Ludus Latronculus. It is logical to think that Calcagnini had the change from alquerque 12 to draughts in mind and started using strong pieces in alquerque 12, as Francesch Vicent experimented.

However, we have to be very careful with this idea, since we see a short dama (King) that cannot be captured by pawns in the Italian draughts. The short dama moves only on squares forwards or backwards and its action is disastrous for the opponent. So the possibility exists that alquerque 12 from the beginning the 16<sup>th</sup> century, transferred to a chessboard (andarraya?) became two weak damas or corporals in the game with the same movement as has the dama in today's Italian draughts. Nevertheless, it is clear that for such a statement we need documentary proofs in future.

With regards to chess, the composition 150 in the book of Lucena is not the only composition in which we see two damas. In the manuscripts of Cesena (position 9-2) and Perugia

(position 11) made by Francesch Vicent around 1505 the white begins the game with two queens, as indicated by Garzón<sup>668</sup>. Was Calcagnini aware of these facts?

Thus we see that at the beginning of the 16th century two leaders or strong pieces were described in Alquerque 12, chess, and in draughts.

Most draughts historians hold the opinion that before the strong dama in draughts there was a weak dama (King) or weak piece, as was the case in chess. Unfortunately this is something that we cannot confirm for draughts since the literature does not offer any proof in this sense. Maybe there was a weak piece in andarraya (alquerque put on a chessboard), but even for that we do not have any documentary proof. The expert in draughts history, Dr. Arie van der Stoep believes in a medieval draughts game with promotion<sup>669</sup>.

It is rather strange to observe that there is no mention of the rules of alquerque 12 in the literature of 1300 – 1500. Thanks to the research of Dr. Francesco Pratesi, a famous tarot ad go researcher, we gained possession of his study about Celio Calcagnini who wrote extensively about Alquerque 12 in Latin. Hopefully after the publication of this book we will obtain more ancient studies about alquerque 12 from other researchers in the near future, because there still remain gaps about the rules of this game.

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<sup>668</sup> **GARZON ROGER, José Antonio** (2005) *The Return of Francesch Vicent: the history of the birth and expansion of modern chess*; translated by Manuel Pérez Carballo. (Foreword Anatoli Karpov). Generalitat Valenciana, Conselleria de Cultura, Educació i Esport: Fundació Jaume II el Just, Valencia. ISBN 84-482-4194-0 (English Edition), pp. 124-126

<sup>669</sup> **STOEP, Arie van der** (2002) *Early Spanish Board Games*. In: *Board Game Studies*, 5, pp. 111-118  
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## Books written by Govert Westerveld

**Most of my books, written in English, Spanish and Dutch, are in the National Library of the Netherlands (Koninklijke Bibliotheek – KB) in The Hague.**

N°	Year	Title	ISBN
01	1990 2014	Las Damas: ciencia sobre un tablero I Las Damas: ciencia sobre un tablero I. 132 pages. Lulu Editors.	84-7665-697-1 None
02	1992 2014	Damas españolas: 100 golpes de apertura coronando dama. 116 pages. Lulu Editors. Damas españolas: 100 golpes de apertura coronando dama. 116 pages. Lulu Editors.	84-604-3888-0 None
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